THE

UVĀSAGADASĀO

OR

THE RELIGIOUS PROFESSION OF AN UVĀSAGA

EXPOUNDED IN TEN LECTURES

BEING

THE SEVENTH ANGA OF THE JAINS

TRANSLATED

FROM THE ORIGINAL PRĀKRIT

WITH COPIOUS NOTES

BY

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE

SIR WILLIAM JONES

MDCCXLVI-MDCCXCIV

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

1, PARK STREET,

CALCUTTA

1989

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TO

DR. REINHOLD ROST

LIBRARIAN OF THE INDIA OFFICE IN LONDON

IN

GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE

OF HIS

EVER-READY SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT

This Volume

IS

DEDICATED.

Calcutta, Autumn 1888.

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INTRODUCTION.

The work of which the following pages present a translation, bears the name *Uvāsagadasāo*, and is one of the chief of the Sacred Books of the Shvetāmbara or 'white-robed' division of the Jains.

These Sacred Books, or Āgamas as they are called, comprise seven sub-divisions, respectively called the Aṇgas, Upāngas, Prakīrṇakas, Chhedas, Mulasutras, and Nandīsūtra and Anuyogadvāra.*

The oldest of these divisions are the Angas. The Uvāsagadasāo is the seventh in their list, the whole of which comprises the following eleven books: 1, Āyārangasuttaṃ (Skr. Āchārānga Sūtra), 2, Sūyagaḍangaṃ (Skr. Sūtrakṛitāngam), 3, Thānangaṃ (Skr. Sthānāngam), 4, Samavāyangaṃ (Skr. Saṃavāyāngam), 5, Viyāhapaṇṇattī (Skr. Vyākhyāprajñaptiḥ), commonly called Bhagavatī Sutram, 6, Ṇāyādhammakahāo (Skr. Jñātādharmakathāḥ), 7, Uvāsagadasāo (Skr. Upāsakadashāḥ); 8, Antagaḍadasāo (Skr. Antakṛitadashāḥ); 9, Aṇuttarovavāïyadasāo (Skr. Anuttaraupapātikadashāḥ); 10, Paṇhavagaranaiṃ (Skr. Prashnavyākaraṇāni); 11, Vivāgasuyaṃ (Skr. Vipākashrutam).

* See the more detailed lists in Prof. Weber's Catalogue of the Berlin Library MSS., vol. II, section 2; and his *Indische Studien*, vols. XVI and XVII; Jacobi's *Kalpasūtra*, Introd., p. 14; also Dr. R. Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, vol. III, pp. 67, 68.

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Regarding the age and authorship of these Angas the Jain tradition, in its main features, is as follows. In the second century after Mahāvīra's death a very severe famine, lasting twelve years, took place in the country of Magadha. At that time Chandragupta, of the Maurya dynasty, was king of Magadha, and the Sthavira Bhadrabāhu was the head of the undivided Jain community. Under the pressure of the famine Bhadrabāhu, with a portion of the Jain community, emigrated into the Karṇāṭa country in the south of India. Over the other portion that remained in Magadha the Sthavira Sthūlabhadra assumed the headship. Towards the end of the famine, during the absence of Bhadrabāhu, a Council assembled at Pāṭaliputra (modern Paṭnā); and this Council collected the Jain canon, consisting of the eleven Angas and the fourteen Puvvas (Skr. Pūrva), which latter are also collectively called a twelfth Anga, Diṭṭhivāo (Skr. Dṛiṣṭivādaḥ). The troubles that arose during the period of famine produced also a change in the manners and customs of the Jains. The original rule regarding the dress of the monks had been, that they might either go altogether naked or wear one (resp. two or three) garments; the ideal practice being nakedness, but the wearing of clothes being allowed to the weaker members of the community. Those monks that remained behind felt constrained to abandon the rule of nakedness, and to adopt the 'white' dress. On the other hand, the emigrating portion, who out of religious zeal had chosen to exile themselves, made the rule of nakedness compulsory on all their members. When on the restitution of peace and plenty, the exiles returned to their country, the divergence of conduct, which had in the meanwhile established itself between the two parties, showed itself too markedly to be overlooked. The returned exiles refused to hold fellowship any longer with the (in their opinion) peccant portion that had remained at home. Thus the foundation was laid of the great division between the two sects of the

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Digambaras or naked ones (lit. sky-clad ones) and Shvetāmbaras or white-clothed ones. As a consequence of this difference the Digambaras refused to acknowledge the canon established by the Council of Pāṭaliputra; and they, therefore, declare that, for them, the Puvvas and Angas are lost. The difference, however, did not result in a definite schism (*nihnava*) at once; to this it does not appear to have come till some centuries later, when the final separation took place in the year 79 or 82 A. D.*

In the course of time the canon, or Siddhānta as it is called, which the Council of Pāṭaliputra had established, fell more or less into disorder. It even was in danger of becoming extinct, owing to the scarcity of manuscripts. It became therefore, necessary to reduce it to order and to fix it in an authorised edition of manuscript 'books.' This was done at a Council which was held in Vallabhī (in Gujarāt) under the presidency of Devarddhi Gaṇi, called the Kshamāshramaṇa. This council took place 980 (or 993) years after the death of Mahāvīra, that is, probably in the year 454 (or 467) of the Christian era. Its operations resulted in the redaction of the Jain canon, in the form in which we still find it at the present day.

* The traditions of the Shvetāmbaras and Digambaras are practically unanimous on this point; for their dates differ only by three years. The former place the separation 609 years after Mahāvīra or in 82 A. D., while the latter place it 136 years after Vikrama or in 79 A. D. The former date agrees only with the now commonly accepted traditional date of Mahāvīra's nirvāṇa, *viz.*, 527 B. C. or 470 before Vikrama. But this traditional date will not suit earlier dates, like those of Chandragupta's accession, 155 A. V., which only agree with the other, now generally discarded, traditional date of 410 before Vikrama or 467 B. C. for Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa. This circumstance may, perhaps, help to throw light on the time and cause of the change in the two traditional dates of the Great Nirvāṇa.

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From this tradition it may be seen that the Angas, and the Uvāsagadasāo among them, as we now have them, belong only to the canon of the Shvetāmbara sect; but that, at the same time, their origin goes back to a time anterior to the great schism. In fact it can be traced back to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century before the Christian era. For Bhadrabāhu was, according to the Jain tradition, a contemporary of Chandragupta who is said to have ascended the throne in the year 155 after Mahāvīra or 312 B. C. (if we place Mahāvīra's death in 467 B. C.). Bhadrabāhu is said to have died in the year 170 after Mahāvīra, or 297 B. C., and the council of Pāṭaliputra, which collected the Angas and Puvvas, took place some time before his death. But there is a probability that the Angas, in some form or other, existed before that Council. According to the tradition of the Jains, Mahāvīra himself taught the Puvvas to his disciples, the Gaṇadharas; and the latter composed the Angas. The Puvvas (Skr. Pūrva) or the 'Earlier' (compositions) were evidently called so, because they existed prior to the Angas. At the time of the Council of Pāṭaliputra a large portion of them are said to have been lost; what remained was then embodied in the twelfth Anga. The traditions about these Puvvas seem to point to the fact, that there was once an original canon the remains of which were, by that Council, re-cast and collected in a new canon better adapted to the changed circumstances of the time.*

* The substance of the above given account is mainly taken from Jacobi's excellent essays in his Introduction to the Translation of the Āchārānga Sūtra (in the *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXII), his Introduction to the edition of the Kalpa Sūtra (Abhandlungen of the German Oriental Society, vol. VII), and his *Entstehung der S'vetāmbara and Digambara Sekten* (Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. XXXVIII, pp. 1—42). See also Prof. Weber's Essay *Ueber die heiligen Schriften der Jaina*, in Indische

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Of the existence of the Shvetāmbara sect, as early as the first century of the Christian era, we have direct proof through some of the inscriptions discovered at Mathurā. These inscriptions occur on the pedestals of statues of Jain Tīrthankaras, and are dated according to the era of the celebrated Indo-Scythian kings Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva, which is probably identical with the well-known Shaka era beginning with the year 78-79 A. D. They state that those statues were erected by the pious devotion of members of the Shvetāmbara sect. The fact that the donors belonged to that sect, and not to the Digambaras, is proved by the circumstance that the inscriptions specify certian divisions of Jain monks which, as we know from the Sthavirāvali or 'list of pontiffs' in the *Kalpasūtra*, belonged to the Shvetāmbara sect. Thus in an inscription, dated in the 9th year, in the reign of king Kanishka (*i. e.* 87-88 A. D.), it is stated that the statue to which it refers was erected by a Jain laywoman called Vikaṭā, at the instance of her religious guide Nāganandin who belonged to the Koṭiya (or Kauṭika) division (*gaṇa*). The latter division, as the Sthavirāvali shows, was founded by the Sthavira Susthita who died in the year 313 after Mahāvīra or 154 B. C.* Thus, indirectly, the Mathurā inscriptions afford evidence that carries back the existence of the Shvetāmbara sect to the middle of the second century before Christ.

Studien, vols. XVI and XVII, Dr. Klatt's *Historical Records of the Jainas*, in the Indian Antiquary, vol. XI, p. 245; and Prof. Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in 1883-84.

* Further details on this subject will be found in two papers '*On the authenticity of the Jain tradition*, published in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. I, No. 3, and Vol. II, No. 2, by Professor Bühler who first discovered the evidence. The Sthavirāvali is published by Professor Jacobi, in Vol. XXII, of the *Sacred Books of the East*.

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The Uvāsagadasāo, as its name 'the religious profession of an Uvasaga, expounded in ten lectures, shows, is intended to set forth and illustrate the vows and rules of conduct to which a layman of the Jain community was required to conform. It is, therefore, in a manner, the counterpart to the Āchārānga Sūtra, which sets forth the vows and rules which a Jain monk was required to take on himself.

It is divided into ten 'lectures' *(ajjhayaṇa*, Skr. *adhyayana)* in which the subject of the book is placed in the best light from every point of view.

The first lecture enumerates, in minute detail, the vows and observances that must regulate the conduct of a layman as well as a lay-woman; and it then goes on to show the exceeding great spiritual reward that will accrue from a faithful observance of those vows.

The next four lectures are intended to illustrate the various kinds of temptations arising from external persecutions to which the faithful observance of his vows will expose a Jain layman. The first persecution puts his life in jeopardy, the second his kith and kin, the third his health, the fourth his property.

The sixth lecture is intended to illustrate the temptations that may arise for a Jain layman from internal doubts and difficulties as to the truth of his religion, suggested by the contrary tenets of a different one. In the present case, the different religion is that of Gosāla Mankhaliputta.

The seventh lecture exhibits the superiority of the Jain religion over others. It shows how an adherent of Gosāla is converted to Mahavira, and triumphantly withstands all efforts of the former to win him back to his old allegiance.

The eighth lecture is intended to illustrate both the temptations to sensual enjoyment to which a Jain layman may be exposed by his own household, as well as the fearful consequences of rejecting or opposing the Jain religion.

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For this purpose it narrates the solicitations of a wicked wife and her cruel death.

The ninth and tenth lectures give two examples of a quiet and peaceful career of a faithful Jain layman.

Incidently it is shown, that all that is said about the Jain layman also applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to a Jain laywoman. Thus in the first lecture, after Āṇanda has taken the vows on himself, his wife does the same. Again in the seventh lecture, after Saddālaputta is converted from Gosāla to Mahāvīra, his wife follows his example.

One point of particular interest in the Uvāsagadasāo is the account, in the sixth and seventh lectures, of the tenets of the Ājīviya sect, founded by Gosāla Mankhaliputta. But very little has hitherto become known regarding the doctrines and practices of that ascetic community, which would seem to have, at one time, rivalled, in numbers and importance, the two still existing great communities of the Buddhists and Jains. I have, therefore, thought it useful to collect, in two Appendices (Nos. I and II), all that I have been able to gather regarding the history and doctrines of Gosāla. Some information about the chronology of his and Mahāvīra's life I have put together in a note (No. 253). Another note (No. 8), on the identification of Mahāvīra's birthplace, may also be found of some interest.

In a third Appendix (No. III) I have put together some additional information, that I have been able to gather since publishing the several fasciculi. For some of this information, I am indebted to Muni Mahārāj Ātmārām-jī Ānand Vijay-jī, the well known and highly respected Sādhu of the Jain community throughout India, and author of (among others) two very useful works in Hindī, the *Jaina Tattvādarsha* mentioned in note 276 and the *Ajñāna Timira Bhāskara*. I was placed in communication with him through the kindness of Mr. Magganlāl Dalpatrām. My only regret

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is that I had not the advantage of his invaluable assistance from the very beginning of my work. For some useful suggestions and corrections I am also indebted to Mr. Virchand R. Gaudhi, the Honorary Secretary to the Jain Association of India.

The question of the identity of the Uggas and Bhogas has a certain historical bearing on the question of the age of the Jain Sacred Books as we now possess them. These two castes or clans are repeatedly mentioned in several of the professedly oldest Sacred Books as being among the most prominent of the earliest converts to Mahāvira. It is, therefore, of essential importance to be able to trace their existence in the time and the locality of Mahavira's missionizing labours. A small attempt towards the solution of the problem is contributed in one of the notes collected in Appendix III. Another note in the same Appendix, on the identification of the town of Ālabhiyā, may also prove of some interest.

With regard to the transliteration of the Devanāgarī characters I have followed the system adopted in the comparative Bihārī Dictionary, in course of publication by Mr. Grierson and myself, with the exception of the phonetic sign for the guttural nasal consonant which the Press does not possess. I may note that the palatal and cerebral sibilants are marked respectively by *sh* and *ṣ*, and the anunāsika by a circumflex (~).

Some of the works, frequently referred to in the annotations, accompanying the translation, are quoted by abbreviations of their names. A list of these abbreviations is prefixed to the translation.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

Ay.	=	Āyāranga Sutta or Āchārānga Sūtra (ed. Hermann Jacobi), with its Translation.
Baden Powell	=	Handbook of the Economic Products of the Panjāb, Vol. I, Economic Raw Produce (*Roorkee,* 1868).
Bhag.	=	Fragment der Bhagavatī (ed. A. Weber).
Colebrooke	=	Miscellaneous Essays in two volumes (ed. E. B. Cowell).
Comm.	=	Commentary.
Grierson	=	Bihār Peasant Life *(Calcutta,* 1885).
Hemachandra	=	Prākrit Grammar (ed. R. Pischel).
Ind. Ant.	=	Indian Antiquary.
Ind. St.	=	Indische Studien (ed. A. Weber).
Kap.	=	Kappa Sutta or Kalpa Sūtra (ed. Hermann Jacobi).
Nāy.	=	Nāyādhammakahā (specimen of, ed. P. Steinthal).
Nir.	=	Nirayāvaliyā Sutta (ed. S. Warren).
Ov.	=	Ovavāiya Sutta or Aupapātika Sūcra (ed. Ernst Leumann).
Paraph.	=	Paraphrase.
Stevenson	=	The Kalpa Sūtra and Nava Tattva.
Transl.	=	Translation.
Watt	=	Economic Products of India in the Calcutta International Exhibition, 1883-84, by George Watt. (*Calcutta,* 1883).
Wilson	=	Essays and Lectures on the Religion of the Hindus (ed. R. Rost).
Yog.	=	Hemachandra's Yogashāstra (ed. E. Windisch).

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THE SEVENTH ANGA

CALLED

UVĀSAGADASĀO

OR

THE RELIGIOUS PROFESSION OF AN UVĀSAGA

EXPOUNDED IN TEN LECTURES.[1]

FIRST LECTURE.

1. At that time and at that period, there was a town, called Champā,[2] *(its* description *to be here supplied)*,[3] *and near*

NOTES.

[1] This is the interpretation of the title of the work, given by the Skr. commentary. The work is an explanation (*pratipādikāḥ*), in ten lectures (*dashādhyayana-rūpāḥ*), of the religious profession (*anuṣṭhānasya*) of the uvāsaga or 'servants of the Samaṇa' (*shramaṇopāsakānām*). An uvāsaga (Skr. *upāsaka*) is a person, who has become a follower of Mahāvīra, without, however, renouncing the world and taking the monastic vows peculiar to Jainism. He takes on himself a certain set of vows, which while distinguishing him as a 'believer' or servant of Mahāvīra, are not inconsistent with his remaining an ordinary member of society. The term *uvāsaga* is usually translated by 'layman,' or 'lay devotee,' which, though a convenient rendering, imports a set of ideas foreign to Jainism. See below note 7.

[2] *Champā*, now represented by the village of Champāpur, on the Ganges, near Bhagalpur; anciently it was the capital of the country of Anga, corresponding to the modern district of Bhagalpur. See Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I, p. 477.

[3] The portions printed in *italics* are not in the Prākrit text, but have been added to facilitate its understanding. The portions,

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it the Cheïya[4] Puṇṇabhadda, *(its* description).

2 At that time and at that period the venerable Suhamma[5] arrived *there* on a visit, *and* (*here the rest is to be supplied* down to *the incident, that)* Jambū reverently waiting *on him* spoke *to him* thus: "If, Reverend Sir, the Samana, the blessed Mahāvīra *(here all his epithets are to be enumerated* down to) who has passed away, has taught this as the purport of the sixth Anga,[6] *called* the Nāyādhammakahāo, what then, Reverend Sir, did the Samaṇa *(as above,* down to) who has passed away, teach as the purport of the seventh Anga *which is called* the Uvāsagadasāo?"

Then Suhamma replied: "Truly, Jambū, the Samaṇa *(as above,* down to) who has passed away, has delivered ten

enclosed within round brackets are rubrical directions to the reciting priest regarding the passages to be supplied by him from memory, and cited from other sacred books of the Jains. The references to these supplemental passages will be found in the footnotes appended to the Prākrit text.

[4] *Cheïya,* Skr. *chaitya;* properly the name of a Jain temple or sacred shrine; but commonly applied to the whole sacred enclosure containing a garden, grove or park (*ujjāṇa, vaṇa-saṇḍa* or *vaṇa-khaṇḍa*), a shrine, and attendants' houses. In this sense *cheïya, ujjāṇa* and *vaṇakhaṇḍa* are used as synonyms. In the Vipāka Sūtra, lect. II, § 2, the Dūipalāsa Cheïya is called Dūipalāsa Ujjāṇa.

[5] *Suhamma,* Skr. *Sudharma,* one of the eleven disciples (*gaṇadhara*) of Mahāvīra, who succeeded him as head of the Jain sect, being himself succeeded by Jambū the last of the so-called *kevalī,* see *Sthavirāvalī,* § 2; also Wilson's *Essays and Lectures,* Vol. I, pp. 299, 336, (*Asiatic Researches,* Vol. XVII, pp. 257, 286). The *paṭṭāvalī* of the Kharataragachha states that Suhamma was the son of a Brāhman, living in Kollāga (*Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XI, p. 246). See § 7.

[6] On the eleven Angas or Sacred Books of the Jainas, see Weber's Essay in the *Indische Studien,* Vol. XVI, pp. 211 ff and Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff. (*Über die heiligen Schriften der Jaina*); also a short list in Kap., p. 14 (footnote).

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lectures *comprised in* the seventh Anga, the Uvāsagadasāo. They are the following: first *the story of* Āṇanda, and secondly *of* Kāmadeva, thirdly *of* the landowner[7] Chulaṇīpiyā, fourthly *of* Surādeva, fifthly *of* Chullasayaga, sixthly *of* the landowner Kuṇḍakoliya, seventhly *of* Saddālaputta, eighthly *of* Mahāsayaga, ninthly *of* Nandiṇīpiyā, tenthly *of* Sālihīpiyā."

Again Jambū asked, "if, Reverend Sir, the Samaṇa *(as above,* down to) who has passed away, has taught ten lectures *as comprised* in the seventh Anga, the Uvāsagadasāo, what then, Reverend Sir, did the Samaṇa *(as above,* down to) who has passed away, teach as the purport of the first lecture?"

3. *Suhamma replied:* "Truly, Jambū, at that time and at that period, there was a city called Vāṇiyagāma[8] *(its* de-

[7] Text *gāhāvaī*, Skr. *gṛihapatiḥ;* comm. *ṛiddhimad-visheṣaḥ*, 'a kind of owner of dominion, a landowner, a squire.' 'Possession' or 'dominion', (*oggaha, Skr. avagraha*) is in the Āy. II, 7, 2 (see Transl., p. 177) said to be fivefold: *viz.*, that of a lord of the devas (*devenda*), of a king (*rāja*), of a landowner (*gāhāvaï*), of a house-owner (*sāgāriya*), and of a monk (*sāhammiya*). The term *gāhāvaï* is explained by Skr. *grāma-mahattarādi* or 'chief of a village, etc.' A *gāhāvaī*, therefore, is what is now called in India a Jāgīrdār or Tālūqdār or Zamīndār, 'one who possesses a village or an estate'; while a *sāgāriyo* is simply 'one who possesses a house.' Ordinarily the term *gāhāvaī* is used, not with reference to any distinct species of property or dominion, but with respect to a certain mode of life, *viz.*, the secular, as opposed to the religious mode of life a monk, and as such it is practically equivalent to *uvāsaga* or *sāvaga* (cf. the footnote on p. 257 of vol. XI. of the *Sacred Books of the East*). As the term *gāhāvaī*, in this sense, is, in the sequel, applied to all the ten persons here mentioned, it is clear, that here, in § 2, it is employed in its technical sense, as implying a kind of ownership.—It may be noted that, in the text, *gahavaï* is treated adjectively, and compounded with the name, to which it serves as an attributive. It is so explained in the Skr. commentary.

[8] *Vāṇiyagāma*, Skr *Vāṇijagrāma;* another name of the well-known

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scription *to be given here)*. Outside of the city of Vāṇiya-

city of Vesālī (Skr. Vaishālī), the capital of the Licchavī country; see Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 443. In the Kalpa Sūtra, § 122, it is mentioned separately, but in close conjunction with Vesālī. The fact is, that the city commonly called Vesālī occupied a very extended area, which included within its circuit (at the time of Hwen Thsang, of about 12 miles, see Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*, Vol. I, p. 56), besides Vesālī proper (now Besāṛh), several other places. Among the latter were Vāṇiyagāma and Kuṇḍagāma or Kuṇḍapura. These still exist as villages under the names of Bāniyā and Basukuṇḍ, (see the Maps, Plate XXI, in Vol. I, and Plate II, Vol. XVI, of the *Archæolog. Reports*). Hence the joint-city might be called, according to circumstances, by any of the names of its constituent parts. The epithet *nayara* clearly marks out Vāṇiyagāma as a very large city; for Champā, itself one of the proverbially large cities (see Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, p. 136), is only designated a *nayarī* in § 1. Under the name of Kuṇḍagāma, the city of Vesālī is mentioned as the birthplace of Mahāvīra, who hence is sometimes called *Vesālie* or the 'man of Vesālī,' (see Jacobi's Introduction to the Translation of the *Achārānga Sūtra*, p. xi, and Weber's *Indische Studien*, Vol. XVI, p. 262). A Buddhist tradition quoted by Rockhill (*Life of Buddha*, p. 62), mentions the city of Vesālī as consisting of three districts. These may very well have been Vesālī proper, Kuṇḍapura and Vāṇiyagāma, occupying respectively the south-eastern, north-eastern, and western portions of the area of the total city. Beyond Kuṇḍapura, in a further north-easterly direction lay the suburb (or 'station,' *sannivesa*) of Kollāga (see § 7), which appears to have been principally inhabited by kshattriyas of the Nāya (or *Jñātṛi*) clan, to which Mahāvīra himself belonged; for in § 66 it is described as the *Nāya-kula*. In connection with their 'settlement' (*sannivesa*) at Kollāga, but outside of it, the Nāya-clan possessed a religious establishment (or *cheïya*) which bore the name of Dūïpalāsa (§ 3). Like most *cheïyas* it consisted of a park enclosing a shrine, hence in the Vipāka-Sūtra, lect. I, § 2 it is called the Dūïpalāsa Park (*ujjāṇa*); and that it was owned by the Nāya-clan is shown by its description

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really possessed magic powers of destruction (p. 1234*a*). Mahāvīra admitted Gosāla's power, but added that it could have no effect on an Arhat, because the magic powers of the latter were still greater. He further told Āṇanda, to forbid all his followers to hold any intercourse with the heretical Gosāla (p. 1236*a*). While Āṇanda was still communicating this interdiction to the other Niggantha ascetics, Gosāla with his Ājīviyas came out to Koṭṭhaga, and addressing Mahāvīra, said to him: "You have called me your pupil; but that pupil of yours, Gosāla Mankhaliputta, is long since dead and re-born in the world of the devas, while I, who am really Udāī Kuṇḍiyāyaṇīya, have only, in the seventh (and last) of my series of changes of body by means of reanimation, entered the body of Gosāla, which body I am still retaining (p. 1237)." He then proceeded to explain in detail his theory of all re-births of all living beings, as well as to enumerate his own seven reanimations successively in the bodies of Enejjaga for 22 years, of Mallarāma for 21 years, of Maṇḍiya for 20 years, of Roha for 19 years, of Bhāraddāī for 18 years, of Ajjuṇa Goyamaputta for 17 years, and of Gosāla Mankhaliputta for 16 years. The last named reanimation, he said, he had undergone in the town of Sāvatthī, in the potter shop of Hālāhalā, the potter woman (p. 1243*a*).* Mahāvīra, in reply told him, that he acted like a thief who, on being hard pressed by the villagers, tried to hide himself under different disguises in all sorts of out-of-the-way places, fondly imagining that he could not be recognised (p. 1245*a*). Gosāla now getting angry, began to grossly abuse him, and when Savvāṇubhūī, one of Mahāvīra's disciples, reproved him for such shameless conduct towards his former teacher, he

* A fuller translation of Gosāla's account of his pre-existent history will be found in Rokhill's *Life of the Buddha*, Appendix I, pp. 253-255. See also Appendix II of this work, footnote p. 18.

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destroyed him by means of his magic power (p. 1247*a*). For the same reason and in a similar way he destroyed Suṇakkhatta, another disciple of Mahāvīra (p. 1248*a*). At last Mahāvīra himself reproved him. Gosāla then drawing back a few paces, shot forth his magic power of destruction against Mahāvīra; but harmlessly rebounding from him as from a rock, it returned burning Gosāla himself (p. 1249*a*). The latter thinking, that he had hit Mahāvīra, told him that he would now die of bilious fever within six months. But Mahāvīra replied that so far from dying within six months, he would yet live sixteen years longer as a Jina, while on the contrary, Gosāla himself, having been hit by his own magic power, would perish of bilious fever within seven days (p. 1250*a*). The rumour of this dispute spread through the town, and there was much discussion among the people as to whose threat would prove true, the better sort among them maintaining, that Mahāvīra spoke the truth (p. 1250*b*). Mahāvīra himself told his Nigganṭha ascetics, that now that Gosāla was discomfited by magic power, they might go to him and worry him with questions and discussions. They went and did so, and Gosāla, though greatly enraged, was unable to defend himself (p. 1252*a*) Then his Ājīviya followers, observing the discomfiture of Gosāla, left him and attached themselves to Mahāvīra; but a few of them still remained with Gosāla (p. 1253*a*). The latter, discomfited and horror-stricken, fled back to Hālāhalā's potter shop, where in the delirium of fever, holding a mango in his hand, he gave himself up to drinking, singing, dancing, soliciting Hālāhalā, and sprinkling himself with the cool muddy water in the potter's vessels (p. 1253*b*). On this Mahāvīra took occasion to explain to his followers that the magic power that destroyed Gosāla was powerful enough to cause the destruction of the people of the sixteen tribes of the Anga, Banga, Magaha, Malaya, Mālava, Achchha,

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Vachchha, Kochchha, Pāḍha, Lāḍha, Bajjī, Molī, Kāsī, Kosala, Avāha, and Sambhuttara. He further explained to them how the delirious actions of Gosāla gave rise to some of the tenets of the Ājīviyas (p. 1254*a*). Thus the drinking, singing, dancing, and soliciting of Mankhaliputta occasioned the doctrine of the 'eight finalities' (*aṭṭha charamāiṁ*): the last drink, the last song, the last dance the last (improper) solicitation, the last tornado, the last sprinkling elephant, the last fight with big stones as missiles, and the last Titthānkara who is Mankhaliputta himself (p. 1255*a*).*

* The first four items refer to the last personal acts of Gosāla. Of the following four items the first three refer to events which happened at or about the time of Gosāla's death. The 'sprinkling' elephant, was a huge elephant, apparently known by the name of *Seyaṇaga* (Skr. *sechanaka*) or 'the sprinkler,' belonging to king Seṇiya of Magadha. He gave the elephant, together with a huge necklace of eighteen strings of jewels, to his younger son Vehalla, by his wife Chellaṇā, a daughter of king Cheḍaga of Vesālī. His elder son, Kūṇiya, by the same wife, after usurping his father's throne, on the instigation of his wife Paümāvaī, demanded from his younger brother the return of both gifts. On the latter refusing to give them up, and flying with them to his grandfather Cheḍaga in Vesālī, Kūṇiya, having failed peacefully to obtain the extradition of the fugitive, commenced war with Cheḍaga. In this war those stone missiles were employed. The story of the elephant and the war is narrated in the *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta* (see a portion of it in Warren's ed., §§ 17ff). The synchronism of Gosāla's death with the war between Kūṇiya and Cheḍaga may perhaps possess a chronological value. According to the calculation, given in note 253, the war would fall in 483 B. C. In Nir. § 17 it is related how the elephant Seyaṇaga carried the royal ladies of Champā to their bath and sport in the river Ganges. He took them up with his trunk, and placed them, some on his back, some on his neck, some on his forehead, some on his head, some on his tusks; then taking up some of them with his trunk, he tossed them up on high; others who sat on his trunk, he swayed to and fro as on a swing;

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Again Mankhaliputta's wetting himself with the muddy water from a potter's vessel led to the doctrine of the four things that may be used as drinks, and the four things that, on account of their cooling properties, may be used as substitutes of drinks:* the former include what is excreted by the cow, what is soiled by the hand (*e. g.*, the water in a potter's vessel), what is heated by the sun, and what drops from a rock. By the latter is understood when one clutches a dish or a bottle or a pot or a jar which is cool or wet with water, but does not drink from it; or when one squeezes or presses with one's mouth a mango or a hog-plum or a jujube fruit or a tinduka fruit when it is tender or uncooked, but does not drink of its juice; or when one squeezes or presses with one's mouth kalāya or mudga or māṣa or shimbali beans when they are tender or uncooked, but does not drink of their juice; or when one eats pure food for six months, lying successively, for two months at a time, on the bare earth, on wooden planks and on darbha-grass, then there appear to him, on the last night of the six months, the two devas Puṇṇabhadda and Māṇibhadda, and clutch his limbs with

others he held up within his tusks; others he bathed with a spray of water; and others he amused in various other ways. The tornado probably refers to one of those cyclonic storms, accompanied with torrents of rain, which occasionally visit India. The term *charama* 'last' denotes that events or things, so improper or so extraordinary as those mentioned, would never again occur.

* Text *chattāri pāṇagāiṃ chattāri apāṇagāiṃ*. The commentary explains *pāṇagāiṃ* by *jalavisheṣā vratiyogyāḥ*, i. e., 'kinds of water that are fit (to be drunk, by ascetics;' and *apāṇagāiṃ* by *pāṇaka-sadṛishāni shītalatvena dāhopashamahetavaḥ*, i. e., 'objects that resemble water because, on account of their coolness, they serve to assuage (internal) heat.' The words might be more literally translated: 'four things which may be drunk, and four things which (though they may be touched) may not be drunk.'

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who were prosperous and (*as above*, § 3, down to) without any equals.

9. At that time and at that period, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra (*as above*, § 2, down to) arrived on a visit, and a company of people went out *to hear him*. Then king Jiyasattū *also* went out *to hear him*, just as king Kūṇiya *had done on another occasion*, and having done so (*and so forth, see* § 2, down to) he stood waiting on him.

10. Then the householder Āṇanda, having been informed of this news, reflected thus: "Truly the Samaṇa (*as above*, § 2, down to) is staying *here on a visit*; this is a most auspicious event; so I will go and (*as above*, down to) wait on him." Having thus reflected, he bathed, put on a fine state dress, and adorned his person with a small number of costly jewels. Having done so, he came out of his house; and then he went out of the city of Vāṇiyagāma, *walking* right through the midst of it, on foot, at a leisurely pace, with an umbrella garlanded with koriṇṭa flowers being carried over him, and surrounded by a dense circle of attendant people. Having done so, he proceeded to the Dūipalāsa cheïya where the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, was *staying*. Having arrived there, he solemnly circumambulated him three times from the left to the right,[17] and

[17] Text *āyāhiṇaṃ pāyāhiṇaṃ*, Skr. *ā-dakṣiṇa-pradakṣiṇam*; the ceremonious circumambulation of a person for the purpose of showing him reverence, done both at meeting and parting. It consists in walking three times round him, so as to keep one's right side constantly turned towards him. To do this one must start, as explained in the Skr. commentary to Ov. § 33 (*trīn vārān ā-dakṣiṇāt pārshwāt pradakṣiṇo dakṣiṇa-pārshwa-varttī ā-dakṣiṇa-pradakṣiṇaḥ*), from the right of the person reverenced and come round to his left. It is commonly said to consist in moving from the left to the right. In that case, 'the left' means the left of the reverencing person, which of course, corresponds to the right of the person reverenced.

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having done so, he praised and worshipped him and *(as above,* § 2, *down to)* stood waiting on him.

11. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, *expounded the Law* to the householder Āṇanda and to the right great company *which had come with him. (Here* the sermon of the Law *should be supplied)*. Then the company of people went home again, and the king also went away.

12. Then the householder Āṇanda, having listened and attended to *the sermon of* the Law, in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and being happy and pleased *(and so forth,* down to) spoke thus: "I believe, Reverend Sir, in the Niggantha doctrine;[13] I am convinced, Reverend Sir, of the Niggantha doctrine; I am delighted, Reverend Sir, with the Niggantha doctrine; it is so, Reverend Sir; it is exactly so, Reverend Sir; it is true, Reverend Sir; it is what I desire, Reverend Sir; it is what I accept, Reverend Sir; it is what I desire and accept, Reverend Sir; it is really so as you have declared it. Still, though acknowledging this, many kings princes, nobles, governors, mayors, bankers, merchants and others have, in your presence, O beloved of the devas, submitted to the tonsure, renounced the life of a householder, and entered the monastic state, I cannot do the same and, submitting to the tonsure, *(as above,*

[13] Text *nigganthaṃ pāvayaṇaṃ*, Skr. *nairgranthaṃ pravachanam* or *jina-shāsanam, i. e.*, the doctrine of the Niggantha or Mahāvīra. The term *niggantha* (Skr. *nir-grantha*) means a holy man (*sādhu*) who has renounced the possession of all property, whether owned in public or in private (Guj. paraph. to Ov. § 30, *vaḥya-abhyantara gāṭh'ḍī na thī, ehavau sādhū*, to § 57, *parigraha-rahita-sādhu*). It is applied emphatically to Mahāvīra, who is called 'THE Niggantha'. The Gujarātī paraph. always treats it as a synonym of 'Bhagavant,' or 'the blessed one.' But it is also given to the ascetic (*samaṇa*, Skr. *shramaṇa*) followers, male as well as female, of Mahāvīra, (*e. g.*, in Lect. II). See also Kap., Introduction, pp. 5, 6.

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down to) enter *the monastic state.*[19] But I will in your presence, O beloved of the devas, take on myself the twelve-fold law of a householder, which consists of the five lesser vows and the seven disciplinary[20] vows. May it so please you, O beloved of the devas! Do not deny me!"

13. Then the householder Āṇanda, in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, in the first place, renounced *all* gross ill-usage of living beings, *saying* : "As long as I live, in its two forms and in its three ways, I will not do it nor cause it to be done, either in thought or in word or in deed."[21]

[19] Text *aṇagāriyaṃ*, the state of an *aṇagāra*, lit. 'one who has no house,' *i. e.*, one who has renounced the condition of a 'householder,' or of an ordinary member of society; hence equivalent to 'one who has renounced the world,' 'a monk.'

[20] Text *pañch'āṇuvvaïyaṃ* and *satta-sikkhā-vaïyaṃ*. The *aṇuvvayāiṃ*, Skr. *aṇu-vratāni*, or 'lesser vows', of the Jain laymen, are called so in contrast with the *mahavvayāiṃ*, Skr. *mahā-vratāni*, or 'great vows' of the monks. The latter are given in *Ay.* II, 15, pp. 131ff., the former in Ov. § 57, see also Yog. II, 18-114. In the Gujarātī paraph. to Ov. § 57 the name *aṇuvvaya* is thus explained: *aṇuvrata mahāvrata nī apekṣāī aṇu nānhā*, i. e., 'the *aṇuvrata* is *aṇu* or small in comparison with the *mahāvrata*.' Some of the differences between these two classes of vows are noticed in note 21. Under the term *sattasikkhā-vaïyaṃ*, or 'seven disciplinary vows', are here lumped together two classes of vows which are distinguished, in Ov. § 57, into *tiṇṇi guṇa-vvayāiṃ*, Skr. *trīṇi guṇa-vratāni*, or 'the three salutary vows' (Guj. paraph. *guṇakārī*), and *chattāri sikkhā-vayāiṃ* (or *sikkhavvayāiṃ*), Skr. *chatvāri shikṣā-padāni* (or *shikṣāvratāni*, cf. Yog. II, 1, III, 117), or 'the four disciplinary vows' (Guj. paraph. *dharm nī sīkharūp*). In Sanskrit expositions of the Jain faith, the objects of the five vows are commonly named thus, *ahiṃsā*, *asūnṛita*, *asteya*, *brahmacharya*, *aparigraha*, see Yog. III, 89-93.

[21] *I. e.*, the 'two forms' of doing evil are doing it by one's self or through some one else; and the 'three ways' of doing evil are

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14. Next he renounced *all* grossly lying speech, *saying*: "As long as I live, in its two forms and its three ways, I will not do it nor cause it to be done, either in thought or in word or in deed."

15. Next he renounced *all* gross taking of things not given, *saying*: "As long as I live, in its two forms and in its three ways, I will not do it nor cause it to be done, either in thought or in word or in deed."

16. Next he limits himself to contentment with his own wife, *saying*: "Excepting with one woman, Sivanandā, my wife, I renounce every other kind of sexual intercourse."

17. Next setting limits to his desires, he limits himself to his *actual possession of* gold, wrought and unwrought,[22] *saying*-

doing it in thought or in word or in deed. It may be noted that in respect of the former qualification, there appears to be a difference between the conduct required of an uvāsaga or ordinary follower, and that required of a samaṇa or monk. For the latter there were three forms of doing evil, *viz.*, either doing it by one's self, or causing others to do it, or conniving at its being done by others. See Ay. II, 15, § 30, (Transl., pp. 202, 204, also p. 76). Though it is possible that the two distinct forms, of 'conniving at evil' and 'causing evil,' are in the present case subsumed under the one form of 'causing evil.' See also Colebrooke's Essays, Vol. I, p. 446. Another distinction between the two classes of followers is indicated by the addition of the term *thūlaga* 'gross', which is absent from the rules applicable to monks (see Āy. *ibidem*). It indicates a less stringent interpretation of the vows in the case of the ordinary followers. According to the Skr. comm., by 'gross ill-usage' is intended ill-usage of the grosser forms of life (of *trasa* or 'men and animals,' as distinguished from the more subtle forms of life of plants, earth-bodies, etc.; see note 68). By 'gross lying' is intended such lying as causes serious injury (*sankleshotpādaka*). By 'gross taking of things not given' is intended theft or robbery.

[22] Text *hiraṇṇa-suvaṇṇa*, Skr. *hiraṇya-suvarṇa*. The Skr. comm. explains *hiraṇṇa* by *rajatam* 'silver,' and of *suvaṇṇa* it says that the

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ing: "Excepting my *treasure of* four kroṛ *measures* of gold deposited *in a safe place,* my *capital of* four kroṛ *measures* of gold put out on interest, and my well-stocked estate of the value of four kroṛ *measures* of gold, I renounce *the possession of* any other gold, wrought or unwrought."

18. Next he limits himself to his *actual possession of* four-footed animals, *saying:* "Excepting my four herds, each herd consisting of ten thousand heads of cattle, I renounce *the possession of* any other four-footed animals."

19. Next he limits himself in his *possession of* landed property,[23] *saying:* "Excepting five hundred ploughs, *and land*

word is *pratītam* 'well-known,' meaning that it is 'gold.' The Gujarātī paraph., however, explains the phrase by *hiraṇṇa aghaṭita ghaṭita suvarṇa dravya, i. e.,* 'unwrought and wrought gold.' By 'wrought gold' possibly 'coined gold' may be meant, as *suvarṇa* is known to be a term for a gold coin. The latter interpretation is also given by the commentator of the Āchārānga Sūtra (see Jacobi's Translation, p. 123, footnote). And this interprotation is undoubtedly the correct one; for the term *hiraṇṇa* occurs also in § 4, where it is clearly intended as a measure of value; the measure consisting in a certain amount of precious metal taken by weight or quantity. It cannot be supposed that the metal here intended as a measure was silver; it can only have been gold. Moreover the weight or quantity, used as measure, is specified in lecture viii as *kāṃsya.* This would point to a very ancient condition of society in India, when 'coins' were not yet an ordinary measure of value.

[23] Text *khetta-vatthu.* This term is susceptible of two different interpretations. It may be either taken as equivalent to Skr. *kṣetra-vastu* (i. e., *kṣetram eva vastu*), meaning simply *kṣetra* or 'field'; or it may represent Skr. *kṣetra-vāstu* (i. e., *kṣetraṃ cha vāstu cha griham*) and mean 'fields and houses.' Abhayadeva, in his comm., adopts the former view, which certainly seems the only one consistent with the context, but he adds that the latter is adopted in another work (*granthāntare*). As a matter of fact it is adopted by Hema-

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at the rate of one hundred niyattaṇas[24] *for each plough*, I renounce *the possession of* any other landed property."

20. Next he limits himself in his *possession of* carts, *saying*: "Excepting five hundred carts for foreign traffic and five hundred carts for home use, I renounce *the possession of* any other carts."

21. Next he limits himself in his *possession of* boats, *saying*: "Excepting four boats for foreign traffic and four boats for home use, I renounce *the possession of* any other boats."

22. Next on being desired to make his renouncements regarding things of reiterate and things of momentary use,[25] he limits himself in his *use of* bathing towels, *saying*: "Excepting one kind, *viz.*, a fragrant red-tinted one[26], I renounce *the use of* every other kind of bathing towel."

chandra in his Yoga Shāstra (III, 93); but as, according to the common tradition, he lived about one hundred years after Abhayadeva (A. died 1078 or 1082 A. D., while H. died 1172 A. D., see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XI, p. 253, and Pishel's edition of Hemachandra's Grammar, p. v.), the reference cannot be to his book.

[24] The *nigattaṇa*, Skr. *nivarttana*, is a certain measure of land, (comm.). It is said to be 20 rods or 200 cubits or 40,000 *hasta* square (M. Williams' Skr. Dictionary).

[25] Text *uvabhoga* and *paribhoga*. The Skr. comm. explains the former to mean 'reiterate' (*paunaḥpunya* or 'constantly recurring'), the latter, 'momentary' (*sakṛit* or 'once occurring') use. As examples of things of the former kind, it names one's house (*bhavana*), clothes (*vasana*), wife (*vanitā*); of the latter kind, food (*āhāra*), flowers (*kusuma*), unguents (*vilepana*) The same explanation is given in the Gujarāti paraph. to Ov. § 57. Thus food, once eaten, cannot be eaten again, while clothes may be put off and on as often as one pleases. Compare Yog. III, 5, where, however, *bhoga* is used for *paribhoga*.

[26] Text *gandha-kāsāī*, Skr. *gandha-kāṣāyī*, scl. *shāṭikā* 'cloth.' The phrase also occurs in Nāy., § 35. The comm. explains it as a

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23. Next he limits himself in his *use of* tooth-cleaners,[27] *saying*: "Excepting one kind, *viz.*, a green stick of sweet taste, I renounce *the use of* every other kind of tooth-cleaner."

24. Next he limits himself in his *use of* fruits, *saying*: "Excepting one kind, *viz.*, the milky pulp of the Āmalaka,[28] I renounce *the use of* every other kind of fruit."

red cloth *(rakta-shāṭikā)* distinguished by its fragrance *(gandha-pradhānā)*.

[27] Text *danta-vaṇa*, Skr. *danta-vana*, 'a piece of wood for (cleaning) the teeth'. The Chullavagga, V, 31, 1 (in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XX, p. 146) has *dantakaṭṭhaṃ*. It is not quite correct, however, as stated in the footnote on that word, that the ends of the toothstick are "not rubbed on the teeth." The ends are, at least in this part of the country, both masticated and rubbed on the teeth, for the purpose of cleaning them.

[28] Text *khīrāmalaya*, Skr. *kṣīrāmalaka*. The comm. explains *khīra* by *abaddhāsthika* 'pulp', and by *kṣīram iva madhuram* 'milky juice.' The *āmalaka* (Hindī *am'lā*) is the *Phyllanthus emblica* or *Emblica officinalis*. It is a moderate sized tree, with an acid fruit (the Emblic Myrobalan), the size of which is that of a small gooseberry, with a fleshy outer covering and a hard three-celled nut, containing six seeds. It is used by the Indians for food and preserves (pickled or candied), also as a medicine, and sometimes externally to cleanse the hair, (see Watt, Part VI, p. 138, Baden-Powell, p. 374). The last mentioned use would seem to be the one intended here, as the fruit is enumerated in the midst of a list of toilet articles. As such an article it is also mentioned in the comm. to § 52, 5, together with warm water and powder. If it was intended as an article of food, one would expect it to be enumerated after § 33. Moreover, it is not likely that fruits as articles of diet would be entirely limited to this particular kind. On the other hand, it seems surprising that fruits are not mentioned at all in the subsequent list of articles of food. It would seem therefore that in this respect no restraint whatever was placed on the wishes of an uvāsaga, provided, of course, he attended to the general rule of not

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25. Next he limits himself in his *use of* unguents, *saying :* "Excepting oil of one hundred or one thousand ingredients,[29] I renounce *the use of* every other kind of unguent."

26. Next he limits himself in his *use of* powders, *saying :* "Excepting one kind, *viz.*, scented wheat flour, I renounce *the use of* every other kind of powder."

27. Next he limits himself in his *use of* washing water, *saying :* "Excepting eight ghaṛā of water sufficient to fill an uṭṭiyā[30], I renounce *the use of* all other washing water."

28. Next he limits himself in his *use of* clothes, *saying :* "Excepting one kind, *viz.*, a pair of cotton clothes, I renounce *the use of* every other kind of clothes."

29. Next he limits himself in his *use of* perfumes *for the person, saying :* "Excepting *perfumes made of* aloes, saffron, sandel and similar substances[31], I renounce *the use of* every other kind of perfume."

30. Next he limits himself in his *use of* flowers, *saying :* "Excepting one kind, *viz.*, the white lotus[32] or a garland of jasmin flowers, I renounce *the use of* every other kind of flower."

eating anything *sachitta* or 'living,' nor anything *sachitta-baddha* or 'adjuncts of living things' (see § 51).

[29] Or, 'worth one hundred or one thousand *karṣāpaṇas.*' The comm. gives both interpretations.

[30] A *ghaḍa*, Hindī *ghaṛā*, is a globular, unglazed earthen pot, of about 10 or 12 inches diameter, while the *uṭṭiyā* is a very large, unglazed earthen jar, egg-shaped, measuring about 18 by 36 inches diameter.

[31] Text *agaru-kunkuma-chandaṇa-m-ādiehiṃ.* Here *m* is an auxiliary consonant, inserted probably for reasons of euphony, as sometimes in Pāli. (see Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pāli Grammatik* p. 63). Another instance occurs in § 79, *anna-m-annassa.* For some more examples, see Bhag. p. 409.

[32] Text *suddhapaüma*, Skr. *shuddhapadma*, which the comm. explains as meaning either 'the white lotus,' or 'lotus without any other flowers.'

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31. Next he limits himself in his *use of personal* ornaments, *saying*: "Excepting smoothly polished ear pendants and a finger ring *engraved* with my name, I renounce *the use of* every other kind of ornament."

32. Next he limits himself in his *use of* incense, *saying*: "Excepting incense made of aloes, olibanum, and similar substances, I renounce *the use of* every other kind of incense."

33. Next in setting limits to his *use of* victuals, he limits himself in his *use of* beverages *saying*: "Excepting one kind, *viz.*, a decoction of pulses or rice,[83] I renounce *the use of* every other kind of beverage."

34. Next he limits himself in his *use of* pastry, *saying*: "Excepting such as are fried in clarified butter or turned in sugar[84], I renounce *the use of* every other kind of pastry."

35. Next he limits himself in his *use of* boiled rice,[85] *saying*: "Excepting boiled rice of the cultivated varieties,[86] I renounce *the use of* every other kind of boiled rice."

[83] Text *kaṭṭha*, Skr. *kṛiṣṭa*, 'product of cultivation,' 'crop,' which the commentary explains to be *mudgādi* or 'pulses,' and rice fried in *ghī* or 'clarified butter.' Compare the Pāli *kiṭṭha*.

[84] Now well-known under the name of *pūrī*.

[85] Text *odana*, comm. *kūra*. It is the well-known dish of boiled rice, called *bhāt* in North India, and in South India *kūḍu* or *kūlu*, whence the Skr. *kūra*; see my edition of the Prākṛita Lakshaṇa, p. 39.

[86] Text *kalamasāli* or 'seedling-rice,' which according to the commentary, is a kind of rice well-known in the east of India. Rice is either sown broadcast, or in seed-beds and transplanted. The latter, raised from seedlings (or *kalam*, Arabic قلم), are the finer varieties of rice. As two-thirds of all the Indian rice are grown in Bengal (see Watt's Economic Products of India, Part VII, p. 124), it is probable that the practice of cultivation by seedlings was first introduced in that part of India; whence the fine rice of the East or of Bengal became known as the seedling rice or *kalamasāli*. The term *kalam* or *kal'mī* is commonly employed in India to denote plants improved by cultivation (by grafts, seedlings, etc).

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36. Next he limits himself in his *use of* pottages,[37] *saying:* "Excepting the pottage made of kalāy or the pottage made of mūg or mās[38], I renounce *the use of* every other kind of pottage."

37. Next he limits himself in his *use of* clarified butter,[39] *saying:* "Excepting the best of clarified butter *produced* from cow's milk in the autumn, I renounce *the use of* every other kind of clarified butter."

38. Next he limits himself in his *use of* vegetables,[40] *saying:* "Excepting the curry *made* of vatthū or the curry

In the present passage, the term *kalamasāli* is probably intended, in a generic sense, for any of the finer, cultivated kinds of rice. There is, however, also a special kind of cultivated rice, which is called *kar'mā* (or *kal'mā*) in Bihār (see Grierson, p. 972).

[37] Text *sūva*, Skr. *sūpa;* according to the comm., the well-known Indian dish of *dāl* (Skr. *dvidala*, Yog. III, 7) is intended, a pottage or thick soup made of any kind of split pulse, boiled, but usually not strained.

[38] Text *mugga*, Skr. *mudga*, *Phaseolus mungo*, and *māsa*, *Skr. māṣa*, *Phaseolus mungo radiatus.* *Kalāya* is explained in the Skr. comm. to be *chaṇakākāra dhānyavisheṣa*, *i. e.*, 'a kind of grain resembling *chanā* or gram.' The Gujarātī paraph., more definitely, identifies it with the *masūr* or 'lentils' (*Ervum lens* or *Cicer lens*), which agrees with the modern usage, as *masūr* is very commonly eaten as *dāl* (see Baden Powell, Vol. I, p. 241, and Watt, Part VI, p. 79). These three, the *masūr*, *mūg* and *mās* are still the most expensive and most esteemed pulses used for *dāl.* The name *kalāy*, however, is in Bengal and Bihār now commonly given to the *mās*, which is called *mās kalāī* (cf. Watt, *ib.*, p. 135, Grierson, § 996). *Chanā* (Cicer arietinum, the chickpea), commonly called 'gram', is very cheap and is only eaten by the lower orders, not usually in the form of *dāl*, but parched or ground into flour (cf. Baden Powell, *ib.*, pp. 239, 240).

[39] Text *ghaya*, Skr. *ghṛita*, modern *ghī.*

[40] According to the Gujarātī paraph., the *sālan* or a 'curry' made of vegetables is intended.

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made of sutthiya[41] or the curry *made* of maṇḍukkiya, I renounce *the use* of every other kind of vegetable."

39. Next he limits himself in his *use of* liquors, *saying*: "Excepting one kind, *viz.*, the liquor made from pālangā,[42] I renounce *the use* of every other kind of liquor."

[41] There is much uncertainty as to the vegetables here intended. For *vatthū* there are several different readings, none of which I can identify with the name of any vegetable. *Vatthū* itself is the modern *batthuā* or *batthawā*, or *bāthū*, a kind of spinach, *Chenopodium album* (Watt, p. 49), one species of which is also called *chūā* (Baden Powell, p. 244, No. 869), a name which has some resemblance to the *varia lectio chūchū*. The *sutthiya* is the Skr. *svastika* (or *suṣavi*), *Momordica charantia*, a kind of gourd which is eaten in curries (Watt, Pt. VI, p. 112). The Gujarātī paraph., however, identifies it with *agathīyo*, modern Guj. *agathiyo*, Hindī *agatī* (*Sesbania grandiflora*), a tree the leaves and pods of which are eaten in curries (Watt, Pt. VI, p. 170). The *maṇḍukkiya*, Skr. *maṇḍūkikā* (comm.), is a name of various cucurbitaceous plants (gourds and melons). The variety here intended is, according to the Gujarātī paraph., the *ḍoḍī*, Marāṭhī *doḍī*, which appears to be the same as the Hindī *kaddū* (*Cucurbita maxima*), a large pumpkin, which is a favourite for curry (Watt, Pt. VI, p. 64).

[42] The Skr. commentary explains it by *vallī-phala-visheṣa* 'a kind of fruit of the *vallī*'. The name *vallī* is given to various medicinal plants, and *vallī-vrikṣa* is commonly mentioned as the name of the Sāl tree (*Shorea robusta*), which also produces a gum resin. Here, however, it denotes the Olibanum tree (*Boswellia serrata* or *thurifera*), the gum resin (comm. *shālana*) of which is intended by the term *phala-visheṣa* 'a kind of fruit', and denoted in the text by *pālangā*. The 'tears' of this gum are of a roundish oblong form, of a transparent light yellow colour, and of a slightly aromatic taste (comm. *anamla-rasa* 'not-sour juice'). From the gum an astringent stimulant is prepared, which is used as a tonic (Baden Powell, p. 336, Watt, Pt. V, p. 61). In *Āy.* II, 1, 8, § 4 it is mentioned under the name *sallaï-palamba* (Skr. *shallakī pralamba*) or 'the pendant (product) of the *shallakī* tree'. The latter is the proper Sanskrit name of the tree, while *pālangā* (Tel. and Tam. *pālangī*, Sanscritised *pālanka*) is its Dravidian or South-Indian name. In North India the tree is not

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40. Next he limits himself in his *use of* fritters,[43] *saying:* "Excepting plain fritters spiced with condiments, or gourd fritters spiced with condiments, I renounce *the use* of every other kind of fritters."

41. Next he limits himself in his *use of* drinking water, *saying:* "Excepting one kind, *viz.*, rain water,[44] I renounce the use of every other kind of drinking water."

42. Next he limits himself in his *use of* mouth perfumes, *saying:* "Excepting betel with its five spices,[45] I renounce *the use of* every other kind of mouth perfume."

43. Next he renounces the following four kinds of unprofitable employment, *viz.*, malevolent conduct, inconsiderate conduct,[46] giving of dangerous objects,[47] and directing of

known by the name *pālangā* or *pālanka*, which is there given to a kind of spinach (*Beta vulgaris* or *bengalensis*). See Watt, Pt. I, p. 15, Pt. VI, p. 28, B. Powell, pp. 339, 399. It is remarkable, however, that in Yog. III, 45 the *pālanka* appears among a number of forbidden plants.

[43] According to the Gujarātī paraph., the *amla* or condiments are 'pepper and salt.' The fritter is the *baṛā* or *bāṛā*, (see Grierson, p. 352); it is a fritter made of some kind of pulse, and fried in clarified butter or oil; it may be either plain, or contain a slice of gourd (*dālikā*, colocynth).

[44] Text *antalikkhodaya* or 'water fallen from the sky or air.'

[45] Text *tambola*, now commonly called *pān*, the leaf of the *Piper* (or *chavica*) *betel*, which, together with areca-nut and lime, is chewed, especially after meals, as a digestive. (Watt, Pt. VI, p. 140, Baden Powell, p. 303). Sometimes certain spices are added; they are, according to the comm., *ēlā* or cardamom (*Elettaria cardamomun*), *lavanga* or cloves (*Caryophyllus aromaticus*), *karpūra* or camphor (*Laurus camphora*), *kakkola* or a kind of acid seed (*Eleagnus umbellata*) and *jātīphala* or nutmeg (*Myristica moschata*). On the derivation of *tambola* from Skr. *tāmragula*, see Ov., p. 165.

[46] The commentary says: "such as a sarcasm, or leaving an oilpot uncovered" (so that insects may fall into it and die). Compare the first three applications of the first great vow, in *Āy.* II, 15, (transl., p. 203). See also Yog. III, 72, and 74, 77—80.

[47] Text *sattha*, Skr. *shastra*, 'anything that may become the cause

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sinful deeds.[48]

44. At this point, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, addressing Āṇanda, the disciple of the Samaṇa, spoke to him thus: "Truly, O Āṇanda, a disciple of the Samaṇa, who has mastered *the discrimination* of the living and the lifeless and who wishes (*and so forth*, down to) not to be betrayed into any transgression (*of the Niggantha doctrine*), must know and avoid the following five typical[49] offences

of wounds or death'. See *Ay.*, transl., p. 1, footnote 2; also p. 141, (less. 2, § 1) also Stevenson, p. 122. Compare Yog. III, 76.

48 Comm.: "such as an order to plough a field," which would cause injury to the 'earth body.' Compare Yog. III, 75.

49 The text has *peyālā*, which the comm. renders by Skr. *sārāḥ* or *pradhānāḥ*, 'prominent.' It explains that these offences alone are prominently mentioned, because on account of their grossness they have the reputation of being strong. The meaning of the term is still better brought out by another remark of the commentator's which occurs later in § 51 (see notes 70-72), that the five offences which are expressly mentioned must only be looked upon as examples or illustrations (*upalakṣaṇa*) of a whole class. The term *peyāla*, therefore, clearly denotes that portion which is 'typical' of the rest of a series or class, the mention of which characterizes the class and recalls it to the memory. The Pāli term *peyyāla* appears to be identical with it. The derivation of the word is obscure. The traditional one from *alaṃ* 'enough' is untenable, seeing that the word, in Prākrit, is used as an adjective. The most probable one, which is also suggested by the commentator's equivaluation of Pr. *peyāla* with Skr. *pradhāna*, is from Skr. *prāya* in the sense of 'principal part, general rule, type,' and the suffix *āla* implying 'possession.' *Prāya* might in the Māgadhī Prākrit become *peyya* (see Hem. IV, 292, for Māh. Pr. *pejja*), after the analogy of *asahejja* for Skr. *asahāya* (Hem. I, 79). From *peyya* an adjective *peyyāla* might be formed with the common Prākrit suffix *āla* (for Skr. *mat*, see Hem. II, 159). One would expect in modern Jain MSS. rather the Māhārāṣṭrī form *pejjāla*; but the word, being a technical term, appears to have preserved its original Māgadhī form, the only concession to the change of dialect being, the substitution of a single *y* for the, to the

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against the law of right belief;[59] *viz.*, scepticism, unstableness, distrustfulness,[51] praising of heterodox teachers,[52] and intimacy with heterodox teachers.

45. **Next a disciple of the Samaṇa must know and avoid the following five typical offences against the law of abstention from gross ill-usage of living beings, *viz.*, tying them, bruising them, piercing *any of* their limbs, overloading them, and starving them in food and drink.**[53]

Mâhârâṣṭri unfamiliar, double *yy*. This practically agrees with a suggestion of Childers and Kern.—Another, though less probable, derivation might be from Skr. *prayāṇa* 'beginning' (cf. the similar use of *prabhṛiti*), the *ṇ* of which might change to *l*, as in Pr. *velū* for Skr. *veṇu* (Hem. I, 203, also in Pāli, see Kuhn's *Beiträge*, p. 37).

[50] Text *sammatta*, Skr. *samyaktva*, the same as *samyag-darshana*, explained in Umāsvāti's Tattvārtha Sūtra (s. 3) by *tattvārtha-shraddhāna*, 'belief in the truths of the principles (of Jainism).' Hence *kankhā*, Skr. *kāṅkṣā*, 'unstableness' is *anyānya-darshana-graha* 'continually taking up some other (doctrinal) views'.

[51] Commentary: "such as regarding the benefits of religion, or the ability of a religious preceptor, or the character of a saint."

[52] Text *para-pāsaṇḍa-pasaṃsā*, Skr. *para-pāṣaṇḍa-prashaṃsā*, in Yog. II, 17, *mithyā-dṛiṣṭi-prashaṃsanam*. The word *pāṣaṇḍa* has, with the Jains, no bad sense. It means generally 'the adherent of any religion,' especially of their own. Hence, with the Brāhmans, it came to mean 'an adherent of a false or heterodox religion'; with them, *pāṣaṇḍa* is equal to the Jain *para-pāsaṇḍa*. See also Bhag., pp. 213, 214, and *Ind. St.*, Vol. XVII, p. 75.

[53] The commentary says, that whatever harm, short of killing, is done out of anger or want of kindly feeling, is an offence equal to killing; and it adds that this principle should be observed in interpreting all the rules given. 'Tying,' text *bandhe*, comm. "such as with cords, etc." 'Bruising,' text *vahe*, Skr. *vadha* (Yog. *prahāra*), comm. "such as with sticks, etc.;" it means all violence, including killing. 'Piercing,' as in the Indian custom of piercing the nose of a bullock for the headrope. For other illustrations of these offences, see the practices detailed by Grierson, §§ 94-124, 128-131 See Yog. III, 89, also II, 69.

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46. Next he must know and avoid the following five *typical* offences against the law of abstention from grossly lying speech,[54] *viz.*, false accusation *made* under the influence of passion,[55] false accusations *made* under cover of secrecy, betrayal of the confidences of one's wife,[56] communication of false information, and falsification of documents.[57]

47. Next he must know and avoid the following five *typical* offences against the law of abstention from gross taking of things not given, *viz.*, *receipt of* stolen property, employment of thieves, smuggling into a forbidden country,[58]

[54] Some MSS. here insert a statement of five different kinds of lying speech. According to the Skr. comm. they are taken from the Avashyaka, one of the Jain sacred books of the Mūlasūtra class. They also occur in Yog. II, 54. They comprise, as explained in comm., untruth regarding persons, animals and things, embezzlement of entrusted goods, and false testimony for the purpose of settling differences. These five kinds of untruths are also named in Yog. III, 90.

[55] This includes violent abuse, such as calling a person 'a thief.' The point of the offence is not that the language used causes serious pain to others, but that it is used in passion, (comm.).—The Prākrit has *sahas'ābhakkhāṇe*, and *rahas'ābhakkhāṇe*, for Skr. *abhyākhyānam*. The change of gender may be noted. There are numerous instances of it; e. g., *gamaṇe*, *karaṇe* (§ 48), *vāṇijje* (§ 51), *ahigaraṇe* (§ 52), *paḍihāṇe* (§ 53), etc. Notice also the variant *ālambaṇe* in § 5.

[56] The commentary explains, that though the subject matter betrayed may be true, the act has nevertheless truly the character of untruth, on account of the evil consequences to which it may lead, such as the suicide of the wife from shame. Similarly it is said in Yog. II, 61, that one should not say a thing, even if it be true, if it should cause pain to another. In Yog. III, 90, however, a much more general term is used, *vishvasta-mantra-bhedā*, 'betrayal of the secrets of a confidant'.

[57] Comm.: To say, "I have promised not to lie, but this is forgery, not a lie," is a bad excuse.

[58] Text *viruddha-rajj'āikkame*, Skr. *viruddha-rājy'ātikramaḥ*, or

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false weights and measures, and dealing with adulterate wares.[59]

48. Next he must know and avoid the following five *typical* offences against the law of contentment with one's own wife; *viz,*, visiting a kept woman, visiting a respectable woman,[60] amorous dalliance *with other women*, arranging marriages for strangers,[61] and excessive indulgence in sensual pleasures.[62]

in Yog. III, 91, *viḍ-rājya-langhanam, i. e.*, 'the trespassing into (another) country by a merchant'. The Skr. comm. explains that though, in such an act, there may be no intention of stealing, yet it is wrong because of its being forbidden by the ruler of the country.

59 The commentary says: "it must not be supposed that such acts are not offences because they are not housebreaking."

60 Text *apariggahiyā, Skr. aparigṛihītā*, lit. 'not hired for money;' *i. e.*, a married woman or a widow; as opposed to *ittariya-pariggahiyā, Skr. itvara-parigṛihītā, i. e.*, 'a woman hired for the occasion,' (comm.).

61 *I. e.*, for any one except one's self and one's children; because interesting one's self for the connubial pleasures of others is inconsistent with one's vow of continency. (Comm.)

62 Text *kāmabhoga*; this word is explained by the commentator as a *dwandwa* compound, consisting of two independant terms, *viz.*, *kāma*, denoting the pleasures obtainable from objects of hearing (*shabda*) and of sight (*rūpa*), and *bhoga*, denoting the pleasures obtainable from the objects of smell (*gandha*), taste (*rasa*) and touch (*sparsha*). He adds that these pleasures are those expounded in the well-known *Kāma-shāstra, e. g.*, the use of aphrodisiacs. They may be learned by consulting the list of contents of Vātsyāyana's *Kāma Sūtra*, Pt. I, chap. I, (English Translation, pp. 15-18). *Kāma* is there (*ib.*, p. 19) defined as "the enjoyment of appropriate objects by the five senses of hearing, feeling, seeing, tasting and smelling, assisted by the mind together with the soul." I have retained in the text the reading *kāmabhogā* of MSS. A and B, which appears to be an ancient use of the ablative case in the place of the locative.

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49. Next a disciple of the Samaṇa must know and avoid the five *typical* offences against the law of limiting one's desires, *viz.*, exceeding one's limit[63] regarding *the possession of* landed property, exceeding one's limit regarding the possession of gold, wrought and unwrought; exceeding one's limit regarding *the possession of* two-footed and four-footed creatures; exceeding one's limit regarding *the possession of* money and grain; and exceeding one's limit regarding *the possession of* metal utensils.[64]

In MSS. C and D the locative *kāmabhoge* has been substituted (cf. Nāy. §§ 126, 127), and as the compound is generally used in the plural, MS. E even turns the singular into the plural *kāmabhogeṣu*. Similar instances of the use of the ablative for the locative are *aṇaṭṭhā* (see note 78), *antarā* (§ 66), *majjhā* (§ 83). By the Skr. commentator all these cases are treated as compound words, thus he gives as Skr. equivalents *kāma-bhoga-tīvrābhilāṣa*, *anartha-daṇḍa*, *antar'āvartta-māna*, *madhy'āvasat*. But the variants of the MSS., some showing the ablative in *ā*, others the locative in *e*, clearly show the real character of the form. Compare the similar use of the ablative for other cases (instrumental and dative) in Pāli (E. Müller's Pāli Grammar, p. 67).

[63] *I. e.*, the limit, previously promised; see §§ 17ff.

[64] The commentary here gives examples to show, that these offences include all practices, which while appearing to observe the law of limitation in the letter, contravene the spirit of it (*vrata-sāpekṣatva*). Thus a person who has promised to possess but one field, may not evade his promise by adding to its size without adding to its number; nor may any one who has made a promise to keep but five metal vessels, evade it by adding to their weight. Again a person who has publicly given to another a portion of his allotted possession, may not replace it in order to restore the total of his allotment; similarly a man may not tie up his allotted income in money and grain in a miserly way, under the pretext of being obliged to keep up the promised amount. Again a person may not excuse the increase of his herds beyond the promised number, by a reference to the natural

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50. Next he must know and avoid the following five *typical* offences against the law of the vow of the quarters,[65] *viz.*, exceeding one's limit in the upward direction, exceeding one's limit in the downward direction, exceeding one's

increments accruing from the birth of young ones, for as he could foresee this cause of increase, he ought to have taken measures to counteract it. The verse quoted in the Skr. comm. gives the catchwords of the five offences. A similar verse occurs in Yog. III, 94, *bandhanāt bhāvato garbhād yojanād dānatas tathā*, where *garbha* corresponds to *kāraṇa* and *dāna* (thus, not *vāna*) to *payāṇa*.

65 The commentator here points out, that this and the other four 'disciplinary vows,' the *sikkhāvayāiṃ* (cf. §§ 53-56), have not been mentioned previously, as might have been expected (before § 22, and after § 43), at the point when Ānanda took on himself the initiatory vows. This circumstance, he says, may be explained in two ways; firstly, that though not expressly mentioned as taken by Ānanda, they are clearly included in the term of the "twelve vows of the householder," which Ānanda expresses his intention of taking on himself (see § 12). Secondly, that as the 'disciplinary vows' are applicable to certain occasions before the occurrence of which they need not be taken, and as the 'vow of the quarters' is not a 'negative' (*virati-vrata*), but a positive one. Ānanda will take them at their proper time, while the offences against them would, of course, be mentioned by Mahāvīra in their regular order. With reference to the latter remark, it may be noted that Hemachandra, in Yog. III, 1, calls the *disivaya* a *virati-vrata*. Abhayadeva's view, however, is the truer one. For the point of the vow is not so much a negative promise not to overstep certain limits, but the positive promise to circumscribe one's area of action by any limits at all. The difference between the *disivaya* and the *desāvagāsiya-vaya* (§ 54) is this: By the former a person circumscribes the horizon of his area of living and acting. The limits are distantly drawn in the direction of the several 'quarters.' By the latter he fixes for his abode a definite, very small spot, within the area previously circumscribed, with the outside of which all communication is absolutely interdicted. The *desāvagāsiya* vow, there-

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limit in the level direction, enlargement of one's area *of living*, and failure of memory.[66]

51. Next *the Samaṇa* declared that things of reiterate and of momentary use are of the following *two* kinds, *viz.*, those relating to one's food, and those relating to one's occupation. Now, with regard to food, *he said*, a disciple

fore, is the contraction within a narrower compass of the object of the *disi* vow, and hence is called an 'epitome' *saṅkṣepa* or *saṅkṣepaṇa* (see comm. to § 54 and Yog. III, 83) of the latter. The *desāvagāsiya* vow necessarily contracts also the sphere for the application of all the other vows; hence it is said to be an 'epitome' also of those vows (see comm. to § 54).

[66] The commentary explains, that the fourth and fifth offences are alike but for the circumstance that the former is committed knowingly, while the latter is done unintentionally. Thus, if a person had fixed his area at 100 yojanas in one direction and 10 yojanas in another, and if he were knowingly to take 10 yojanas from the former and add them to the latter, such an enlargement, while ostensibly in keeping with one's vow, would be an offence of the fourth kind. On the other hand, if he were to make the extent of his area to be 100 yojanas, instead of 50, from forgetfulness as to which of these two dimensions he had promised to adopt, such an enlargement would be an offence of the fifth kind. MSS D and E (see footnote to the text) insert another offence, called "exceeding one's limit in the fourway direction," and in order not to exceed the number of 'five offences,' they treat Nos. 4 and 5 as a single offence, called "enlargement of one's area *of living* through failure of memory." This emendation was probably caused by the consideration that the fourth and fifth offences are in some respect alike. There can be no doubt, however, that it is an unauthorised after-thought, for the original reading is borne out not only by Abhayadeva's Commentary, but also by Hemachandra's Yogashāstra (III, 95). Moreover the interpolated offence is superfluous, as its idea is sufficiently involved in the third offence. That the interpolation, however, must be of an early date, seems to be shown by the fact, that all MSS. read *khetta-vuḍḍhi-saï-antarad-*

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of the Samaṇa must know and avoid the following five *typical* offences; *viz.*, using living things[67] as food, using adjuncts[68] of living things as food, eating unboiled vegetables, eating parboiled vegetables, and eating worthless vegetables.[69] Then with regard to occupation, a disciple of the Samaṇa must know and avoid the following fifteen ways of making a living; *viz.*, occupation with charcoal,[70] occupation

dhā (as a compound), which only fits into the amended version of MSS. D and E, while the original version of MSS. A, B, C requires the reading *khetta-vuḍḍhī, saï-antaraddhā.*

67 According to the commentary, 'living things' here mean 'earth-bodies,' (*puḍhavī-kāya, Skr. pṛithivī-kāya*), 'water-bodies' (*āo-kāya, Skr. āpaḥkāya*), and plants. According to the Jains, "there are numberless lives or souls, not only embodied in animals, men, gods (*deva*), hell-beings (*tasa, trasa*), and plants (*vaṇassaï, vanaspati*), but also in the four elements—earth, water, fire, wind. Earth, etc., regarded as the abode of lives is called earth-body, etc." See Jacobi's translation of the Āchārāṅga Sūtra, p. 3, footnote, where some further information will be found; also Bhag. pp. 175, 189, 193, 227; Stevenson, p. 116; Wilson, Vol. I, p 306. Compare Yog. III, 96.

68 Such as the gum (*gunda*) of trees, and the pulp (*kaṭāha*) of stone fruit (*sāsthika*), (comm.).

69 *I. e.*, vegetables that cause much trouble in preparing, and give little satisfaction in eating; such as immature beans (*anishpanna-mudgaphalī*). Even if one were to observe the law, by killing (*i e.*, cooking) them, before eating, there would still be the sin of taking life to no useful purpose, (comm.). The commentator adds, it must not be supposed that these five instances exhaust all possible offences under this head. They are merely given as samples; but there are numerous others.

70 This includes not only the making and selling of charcoal, but also any business in which charcoal is used, *e. g.*, making of bricks and pottery. Similarly the next mentioned offences refer to the cutting and selling of plants, to the making, selling or driving of carts, to the carrying the goods of others for hire (by means of carts, men,

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with plants, occupation with carts,[71] occupation with fares, occupation with breaking ground, traffic in ivory,[72] traffic in

or animals), and to hoeing, ploughing (of fields), digging (of wells), blasting (of rocks), etc. Compare Yog. III, 100-104.

[71] Text *sāḍī-kamma*, variant *sāḍiya-kamme*. I have translated it according to the commentary, which renders it with Skr. *shakaṭa-karma*, and explains it with *shakaṭānāṃ ghaṭana-vikraya-vāhana-rūpam*, *i. e.*, the constructing, selling, and driving of carts. If this be correct, the word *sāḍī* or *sāḍiya* must be taken as a contraction of *saaḍiyā* = Skr. *shakaṭikā*. But, irrespective of the difficulty of derivation, the word *sāḍī-kamma*, if thus explained, is not very satisfactorily distinguished from the following word *bhāḍī-kamma*, which is also connected with carts. According to the principle of interpretation, adopted in the commentary (see notes 70 and 72), the expression 'occupation with plants' may well be made to include the making and selling of carts. Accordingly, I am disposed to think, that *sāḍī-kamma* refers to an altogether distinct occupation, and that it is simply the Skr. *shāṭī-karma*, or *shāṭaka-karma*, 'occupation with clothes.' It would include the making as well as the selling of clothes. Possibly the present reading of the commentary may be owing to an accidental confusion of the Skr. *shaṭaka* and *shakaṭa*. The modern *sāṛī* is a well-known garment (a long piece of cloth or wrapper) worn by the women, especially of Bengal. The comm., however, is supported by Yog. III, 98, 102.

[72] Compare Yog. III, 105-108. The commentary explains that this and the other four substances mentioned subsequently, must be only understood as typical instances of their kind; thus 'ivory' includes all that comes from the elephant (or according to Yog. III, 105, from any animal), such as his nails, cheekbones, ichor and hair; 'lac' includes any substance (such as lac, realgar, indigo, etc.), ingrown in any living thing (such as insects, bits of minerals or plants, etc.), so that it is necessary to destroy the latter in manufacturing the former; 'juice' means any saps obtained from living things (such as spirituous liquors, butter, fat, honey, etc); 'poison' includes any *shastra* or dangerous object; 'hair' means 'creatures furnished with hair,' such as servants, cattle, camels, elephants, etc.

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'lac,' traffic in juices, traffic in poisons, traffic in hair, occupation with crushing by machinery,[73] occupation with surgery,[74] kindling of bush fires, draining of lakes, rivers and tanks,[75] and bringing up women for immoral purposes.[76]

52. Next a disciple of the Samaṇa must know and avoid the following five *typical* offences against the law of abstention from unprofitable employment,[77] *viz.*, talking amorous nonsense, conducting one's self like a buffoon,[78] talking impurities, acting the part of an accessory,[79] and exceeding one's

[73] Such as an oil-press or a sugar-press, (comm.). See Yog. III, 109.

[74] According to Yog. III, 110, such as piercing the nose, branding, castrating, etc.

[75] For the purpose of obtaining land for agriculture, (comm.). From Yog. III, 112, however, it would appear that these two acts were only forbidden, when done with an evil intention (*vyasanāt*).

[76] This includes not only the bringing up and hiring out, of women, for immoral purposes, but also the rearing of any living thing (*prāṇī*) for any cruel purpose, (comm.). In Yog. III, 111, the horse, cat, dog, fowl, parrot, etc. are instanced.

[77] Text *aṇaṭṭhā daṇḍa*, *lit.* 'pains (or trouble) taken to no (good) purpose,' or, as explained in Yog. III, 73, *sharīrā'vyartha-daṇḍasya pratipakṣatayā sthitaḥ*, *i. e.*, 'that which consists in the opposite of profitable employment of one's body.' *Aṇaṭṭhā* is the ablative singular used for the dative or locative (as in Pāli); see note 62 on *kāmabhogā*. According to the Skr. commentary, which explains *aṇaṭṭhā* by *anarthena* (see comm. to § 43), it would stand for the instrumental. The same five offences are named in Yog. III, 113. For illustrations of the first three, see Yog. III, 77-79.

[78] Text *kukkue* or, in some MSS., *kukkuie*. The Skr. equivalent given on p. 21 of the text is the traditional one of the commentaries, and is itself in want of explanation. The real equivalent is probably Skr. *kaukṛita* or *kaukṛitika*, as suggested by Leumann (Ov. Appendix, p. 165). See also *Ind. St.*, Vol. XVII, p. 208, footnote.

[79] *E. g.*, when a person does not himself give a *shastra* or hurtful object to another, but assists him, with his intercession, in getting it from a third person, (comm.).

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need in things of reiterate or momentary use.[80]

53. Next a disciple of the Samaṇa must know and avoid the following five *typical* offences against the law of inward peace,[81] *viz.*, ill behaviour in thought, ill behaviour in word, ill behaviour in act,[82] obliviousness of the law of inward peace,[83] and unstable[84] attention to the law of inward peace.

54. Next a disciple of the Samaṇa must know and avoid the following five *typical* offences against the law of keep-

[80] To whatever extent a person uses a larger quantity of food than he requires for himself, to that extent he renders it more difficult for others to obtain food, and thus causes them waste of labour (lit. unprofitable employment), (Comm.).

[81] Text *sāmāiya*, Skr. *sāmāyika*. The Skr. comm. explains this term thus: "one who, being of equal temper (*sama*) and devoid of love and hatred, looks on all creatures as being like himself, gains the advantage (*samāya*) of making momentarily regular progress in knowledge, faith and conduct, which are the source of incomparable happiness and which are only comparable to the miraculous gem and wishing-tree of heaven. The indispensable condition of obtaining that state is called *sāmāyika*, and it consists in avoiding to do that which is forbidden, and not abstaining from doing that which is permitted." The logical outcome of this explanation is that *sāmāyika* is the same as *samatva* or *sāmya* (cf. Yog. IV, 49, 50), *i. e.*, that calm temper and firmness of mind which is not disturbed by any passion or any outward accident, but wholly given to religious practices. Etymologically the word is always derived, by means of the vṛiddhi suffix *ika*, from the compound of *sama* (equal) and *āya* (gain, profit)

[82] Thinking of what would be well or ill in doing one's household duties, making use of harsh abuse, and incautiously placing hand or foot on a spot which has not been previously examined with respect to the presence of any living creature, (Comm.). The *sāmāiya* vow lasts only for two *ghaṭikā* (or 48 minutes) at a time.

[83] *I. e.*, forgetting at a given moment, that one is under the promise of striving after inward peace, (Comm.).

[84] *I. e.*, either short-lived, or fitful, (Comm.).

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ing within a certain place;[85] *viz.*, employment of *family members* as messengers, employment of servants as messengers,[86] communication by word of mouth, communication by gestures, and *notification by* throwing of clods.

55. Next a disciple of the Samaṇa must know and avoid the following five *typical* offences against the law of keeping the posaha[87] abstinences; *viz.*, *using* an unexamined[88] or badly examined bed for sleeping, *using* an unwiped

[85] Text *desāvagāsiya*, Skr. *deshāvakāshika*, *lit.*, 'having some one place as one's sphere.' Having determined the dimensions of one's area of living, according to the *digvrata* (see note 65 to § 50), a Jain may not leave it. But if the necessity arises of procuring something from beyond its limits, the law can obviously be evaded by any of the means mentioned above. Hence they are all prohibited. Compare Yog. III, 115.

[86] Text *āṇavaṇa* and *pesa aṇa*, Skr. *ānayana* and *preṣayaṇa*. The latter word, according to the Skr. comm., implies 'sending by force (*balāt*) for something,' and is equivalent to sending a *preṣya* (cf. Yog. III, 115), a 'servant' or 'slave.' The force of the latter word may be clearly seen from the connection in which it occurs in Yog. II, 65. By contrast *āṇavaṇa* implies 'causing to be brought by the favour of a member of the family.'

[87] Text *posaha*, Pāli *uposatha*, Skr. *poṣadha* (properly *upavasatha*). It is the sacred day of the Jains, which regularly occurs on six days of the month, *i. e.*, on the day of the full moon, on the day of the new moon, and on the two days which are the eighth (*aṭṭhamī*) and fourteenth (*chauddasī*) respectively from the full and new moon. The day is distinguished by the four abstinences (*uvavāsa*) from food (*āhāra*), bodily attentions (*sharīra-satkāra*), sexual intercourse (*abrahma*), and daily work (*vyāpāra*). See commentary; also Appendix III, note on p. 39. Compare also Yog. III, 84, 116.

[88] Text *appaḍilehiya*, Skr. *apratilekhita*, *lit.*, 'not scraped;' but explained by Skr. *apratyapekṣita* 'not examined.' The difference between *appaḍilehiya* and *appamajjiya* is that the former act of cleaning is done with the eye, the latter with a cloth, (Comm.).

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or badly wiped bed for sleeping, *using* an unexamined or badly examined spot for easing nature, *using* an unwiped or badly wiped spot for easing nature,[89] and imperfect observance of the posaha abstinences.

56. Next a disciple of the Samana must know and avoid the following five *typical* offences[90] against the law of right distribution *of alms*;[91] *viz.*, putting away among living things,

[89] Text *uchchāra-pāsavaṇa*, Skr. *uchchāra-prasravaṇa*, lit., voiding feces and urine. One of the greatest sins a Jain can be guilty of is injury to any living creature (insects, etc.). Hence any spot likely to come into use in any way, must be previously carefully examined and wiped, especially during the rainy season when the crop of insects is abundant. See the detailed instructions in Āy., I, 7. 11, 1-2.

[90] Text *aïyārā*, Skr. *atichārāḥ*, *i. e.*, 'transgressions.' It may be noted that all the 'offences' here mentioned are rather evasions than contraventions of the law. Now an *atichāra*, as the comm. here explains, is strictly speaking the contravention (*parihāra*) of a law, *i. e.*, the doing of a forbidden act, while *bhanga* is the evasion of a law, *i. e.*, the doing of an unforbidden act for the purpose of avoiding a forbidden one. Accordingly a *bhanga* can only occur in the case of *desha-virati* or the limited abstinence incumbent on a sāvaga, to whom only certain acts are forbidden; while the *atichāra* occurs in the case of *sarva-virati* or the total abstinence of a sādhu, though it may also occur in the case of *desha-virati* in proportion as the sāvaga advances in abstinence. But, the comm. adds, the word *atichāra* is here used in an indefinite (*sankīrṇa*) sense, and must be understood to mean either a 'contravention' or an 'evasion,' according to the circumstances of the case.

[91] Text *ahā-saṃvibhāga*, Skr. *yathā-saṃvibhāga*, 'distributing according (to rule).' In Yog. III, 86 the law is called *atithi-saṃvibhāga*, 'distribution to guests,' and explained as referring to *chaturvidh'āhāra-pātra-chhādana-sadman*, i. e., 'the four kinds of food, bowl, clothes, and lodging.' Compare with this the promise in § 58, and note 100. Still, as shown by the 'offences,' it is particularly food that is intended here. The rule is that no other food may be given to, or accepted by, a Jain monk, but such as the giver had pre-

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covering up with living things, neglecting the appointed time, making a pretence of others, and acting from jealousy.[92]

57. Next he must know and avoid the following five offences[92] against the law of a determined self-mortification by the last mortal emaceration; *viz.*, longing after this world,[93] longing after the next world, longing after life, longing after death, and longing after sensual enjoyments.

58. Then the householder Ānanda, in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, took on himself the twelvefold law of a householder, consisting of the five lesser vows and the seven disciplinary vows; and having done so, he praised and worshipped the Samaṇa, the blessed

pared for himself (*svārtham nirvartita*). Food which a monk (*sādhu*) may accept, is called *esaṇijja* or *ahesaṇijja;* while food which is 'made on purpose for him' and which he may not accept, is called *āhākammiya*. Hence a monk may not accept any food, prepared after his arrival; such food is tainted with the 'fault of after-preparation' (*pashchāt-karmadoṣa*). See the detailed rules in Āy. II, 1.

[92] As a monk may not eat any living thing (such as uncooked grain, uncut fruit, etc.), a person may avoid giving to him, when he comes to beg, by placing food among grain or covering it up with fruit. Or he may change the hour of his promised alms-giving, so that the begging monk misses the right time. Or he may avoid giving anything by pretending that it belongs to another person. Or he may give simply out of spite, in order not to be out-done in liberality by another. Cf. Yog. III, 117.

[93] 'This world' does not mean 'the present world' or 'the present existence in this world'; that idea is expressed in the later phrase 'longing after life.' 'This world' is the 'world of men,' as opposed to the 'world of the devas,' etc.; and the reference is to a future rebirth in 'this world of men.' The sāvaga, at this ascetic stage, is not to long after being reborn, *e. g.*, as a chief or a minister, etc. He is also not to long to become, after his death, a deva or 'god' in the 'world of devas.' Further, on observing the respect paid to wealth, learning and position, he is not to think, that after all it is better to live than to starve one-self to death; nor seeing that such a return to social life is out of the question for him, is he to wish that he might rather die at once, than go on starving himself. Cf. Yog. III, 150. A curious illustration of the warning against 'longing after life,' occurs in the tenth book of the Dashāshrutaskandha; see *Ind. St.*, XVI, 470.

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Mahāvīra, and then spakę *to him* thus: "Truly, Reverend Sir, it does not befit me, from this day forward, to praise and worship any man of a heterodox community,[94] or any of the devas[95] of a heterodox community, or any of the objects of reverence of a heterodox community;[96] or without being first addressed by them, to address them or converse with them; or to give them or supply them with food or drink or delicacies or relishes;[97] except it be by the command of the king, or by the command of the priesthood, or by the command of any powerful man, or by the command of a deva, or by the order of one's elders,[98] or by the exigencies

[94] Such as the charaka (*charakādi-kutīrthikāḥ*, comm.); see Bhag., pp. 163, 214.

[95] Such as Hari (Vishṇu) and Hara (Shiva), (comm.)

[96] The words *cheïyāiṃ* or *arihanta-cheïyāiṃ*, which the MSS. here have, appear to be an explanatory interpolation, taken over from the commentary, which says the 'objects for reverence may be either Arhats (or great saints) or Cheïyas. If they had been an original portion of the text, there can be little doubt but that they would have been *cheïyāṇi*. The difference in termination, *pariggahiyaṇi cheïāiṃ*, is very suspicious. The same peculiarity occurs also in Ov. § 99; but an interpolation, once admitted into a standing passage, would naturally tend to be reproduced whenever that passage recurred.—The word *cheïya* has here the special sense of an idol (*pratimā-lakṣaṇa*), (comm.); such as the images of Vīrabhadra and Mahākāla (two forms of Shiva) worshipped by the 'Bhautas,' a low class of Brāhman temple priests.

[97] This does not forbid giving out of charity, but only giving from respect for the applicant's faith, (comm.).

[98] Text *guru-niggaheṇa*, Skr. *guru-nigraheṇa* the commentary gives two explanations; it may either mean, 'by the authority of one's parents' (*mātāpitṛi-pāravashyeṇa*), or 'on account of a warlike attack on one's temples and monks,' (*chaityasādhūnāṃ pratyanīka-kṛitopadraveṇa*). In the latter case there is no offence in giving largess for the sake of their safety.

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of living. *On the other hand* it behoves me, to devote myself to providing the Samaṇas of the Niggantha faith[99] with pure and acceptable food, drink, delicacies and relishes, with clothes, blankets, alms-bowls, and brooms, with stool, plank and bedding, and with spices and medicines."[100] To

[99] *I. e.*, Jain ascetics; see note 18.

[100] The objects here mentioned are thus explained in the Gujarāṭī paraph.: *asana* 'food' is such as 'rice and curry' (*bhāt thī odan, sālan*); *pāna* 'drink' is such as milk, water-gruel (*chāsī* or *chhāchhī*), etc.; *khāima* 'delicacies' are such as cocoanut (*sūkhaṛ* or *sukaṛ*) and other fruits; *sāima* 'relishes' are such as betel (*pān-sopārī*), ginger (*sūṭh*), etc. See paraph. to §§ 87, 124 of the Ovavāïya Sutta. *Kambala* is a woollen or hairy blanket; *pāyapuñchhaṇa*, Skr. *rajo-haraṇa*, is a broom for sweeping the ground before one's feet. *Pīḍha*, Skr. *pīṭha*, modern *pīṛhā* is a stool to sit on (*āsana-visheṣa*, Skr. comm. to Ov. § 49), but which may be also sufficiently large to allow of being slept on, a small square bench or cot (*vājavaṭ*, as it is uniformly rendered in all paraph., modern *vājaṭ*; in Kap., Sām., § 53 it is apparently a synonym of *sejjā*, Skr. *sayyā*, according to the comm., [see footnote on p. 307 of Prof. Jacobi's translation; but perhaps the order of *pīṭha* and *phalaka* should be reversed]); *phalaga*, Skr. *phalaka*, is a plank or board (*pāṭī* or *pāṭiū*, as the paraph. uniformly renders it), intended to be used as a shelf or ledge for placing things on (Skr. comm. *avaṣṭambhana*), but in case of need it may be used for sitting (cf. Kap., Sām., § 53) or sleeping on (*phalaha-sejjā* in Ov. § 116); *sejjā-saṃthāra* is the 'bedding' for sleeping on. *Osaha* 'spices' are such as ginger, cloves, etc.; *bhesajja* 'medicines' are such as powders (*būkī*), extracts (*kvātha*), and mixtures (*ghasār*); see paraph. to Ov. § 124. With regard to *phalaga* or modern *pāṭī*, it may be added, that the word has also the following meanings: 'a broad open basket' (in this sense properly spelt *pā̃ṭī*, Skr. *sampuṭaka*) or 'a shield' (Skr. *kheṭa*) or 'a game-board' (Skr. *dyūtopakāra*). In none of these senses, however, the word *phalaga* is used here; though it may have those meanings in Ov. § 49, (see Skr. comm.). On *pīṭha* and *phalaka* among the Buddhists, see *Chullavagga*, VI, 2, 4 (in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XX, p. 165).

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the above effect he made a formal promise; and having done so, he asked *various* questions and accepted the replies *given*; and then he respectfully[101] took leave of the Samana, the blessed Mahāvīra; and having done so, he went away again from the Dūipalāsa Cheiya and from the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and then returned to where his own house was in the city of Vāṇiyagāma; and having done so, he spake to his wife Sivanandā thus: "Truly, O beloved of the devas, I have listened to the Law in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and that Law is what I desire and except and am pleased with; so now, do thou, O beloved of the devas, go and praise the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and (*as above*, § 10, down to) wait on him, and in his presence take on thyself the twelve-fold law of a householder which consists of the five lesser vows and the seven disciplinary vows.

59. Then that Sivanandā, his wife, being thus spoken to by Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, and being happy and pleased, called her domestic servants; and having done so, she spake *to them* thus: "Quickly bring to me without loss of time" (*the sacred vehicle*[102], *and so forth*, down to, *she went and*) waited *on the Samaṇa*.

60. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, spake a sermon on the Law to Sivanandā and to the right great *company that had come out with her*.

61. Then that Sivanandā, having listened and attended to the Law in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and being happy and pleased, (*and so forth*, down to) took

[101] Text *tikkhutto vandaï*, an elliptic phrase, meaning literally: 'circumambulating him three times by starting from the left and coming round to the right he worshipped him,' as an act of leave taking, just as he had done on his arrival; see note 17.

[102] See the rest, below in the seventh lecture.

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on herself the law of a householder; and having done so, she re-ascended[103] that excellent sacred vehicle of hers, and then returned to the place whence she had come[104].

62. *When she had gone away*, the blessed Goyama turning[105] to the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, praised and worshipped him; and having done so, he spake *to him* thus: "Reverend Sir, is Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, capable of submitting, in the presence of the beloved of

[103] Text *duruhaï*, rendered in the Gujarātī paraph. by *vaise* 'she sat.' The meaning of the word is more accurately rendered in the paraph. to Ov. § 49, *ūpari charhe* 'he mounted up,' and in that to Nāy. § 88, *charhe ūpar vaise*, 'mounting up, he sat down,' *et passim*. In the paraph. to Nāy. § 133, it is explained by Skr. *ārūḍha*. There can be no doubt that it is some derivation of the root *ruh* 'to mount.' After the tentative suggestion of Weber (Bhag., p. 411), it is commonly (E. Müller, *Beiträge zur Jaina Grammatik*, p. 34, Leumann in the Index to Ov., p. 126, Steinthal in the Index to Nāy., p. 67) identified with Skr. *adhi-rohati*. But it is not easy to conceive, by what process *adhi* could turn into *du*. The real derivation of the word is much simpler. It is the same as Skr. *ud-rohati*, with the metathesis of *ud* to *du*. Such transpositions are not uncommon in Prākrit and Pāli; e. g., Pr. *rahassa* for Skr. *hrasva*, Pā. *rahada* for Skr. *hrada*. A long list of such transpositions (or *vyatyaya*) are given by Hemachandra ii, 116—124; see also Bhag., p. 412, and E. Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pāli Grammatik*, pp. 51, 57. The verb *ud-ruh* itself appears to be obsolete in Sanskrit; but the noun *ud-rohaṇa* 'mounting on a bed' has been met with (see Böhtlinck's *Sanskrit Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung*); compare also Skr. *ud-rodhana*. I would suggest a similar derivation for the verb *dūijjai* 'he goes forth,' 'he goes about,' from Skr. *ud-ejati* (or *ud-eti*).

[104] Text *jām eva disaṃ*; in classic Prākrit it would be *jam eva disaṃ*; the use of the long termination is a survival from the ancient, or ārsha, Prākrit. See my edition of the Prākṛita Lakṣaṇam, pp. xxxvii, xxxviii.

[105] *Lit.*, saying "Reverend Sir."

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the devas,[106] to the tonsure and (*as above*, § 12, down to) entering *the monastic state?*"

Mahāvīra replied: "No, that is not the case,[107] O Goyama;

[106] *I. e.*, of Mahāvīra and his disciples.

[107] Text *no tiṇ' aṭṭhe samaṭṭhe.* The exact construction of this frequent phrase is disputed. There is a various reading *no iṇ' aṭṭhe samaṭṭhe*, which, however, I have rejected, 1, because the reading *tiṇa* is supported by the best MSS.; 2, because the reading *iṇa* seems to owe its origin to a mistaken attempt at solving the difficulty of the reading *tiṇa*; 3, because a third reading, *teṇa*, which is found in MS. A, accords with *tiṇa*, but not with *iṇa* as ordinarily understood. I agree with E. Müller's view (*Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jaina Prākrit*, p. 50), that *tiṇa* (or *teṇa*) is the instrumental singular of the pronoun *tad* (see Hemachandra iii, 69). The phrase means literally: 'therein (your) view is not correct.' The commentary, as far as I have observed, invariably reads *iṇa*, even when the accompanying text reads *tiṇa* or *teṇa*; and the interpretation as invariably given is: *na ayam arthaḥ samarṭhah sangataḥ*, i. e., 'this view (of yours) is not correct.' This would seem to show that the reading *iṇa* is a very old emendation of *tiṇa*, and is evidently understood to be the nominative singular masculine of the pronoun *idam* (equivalent to Skr. *ayam*). Now, barring the present phrase, there is no safe evidence, that the form *iṇa* is ever used in Prākrit as a nom. sing. *masculine.* According to Hemachandra iii, 79, *iṇaṃ* may be used as the nom. sing. *neuter* (as such it occurs in Hemachandra ii, 204, iv, 279, Ov. § 136, Saptashataka, verse 41, *et passim*); and it may also according to Hemachandra iii, 78, 79 be used as the accusative singular of all three genders (as such, e. g., H. C. iii, 162). It is true Hemachandra's rule iii, 85 is not quite distinct, and might at first be thought to warrant the use of the form as a masculine; but if it were so, the masculine would undoubtedly be *iṇa*, and not *iṇaṃ*, which latter is the form given by Hemachandra and which clearly seems to restrict its use to the neuter. In short, what Hemachandra evidently means, is that the form *iṇaṃ* may be the nominative singular neuter of both *idaṃ* (iii, 79) and *etad* (iii, 85). A form *iṇa*, as an instrumental singular, is possible, after the analogy of

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but Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, will follow[108] the profession of a servant of the Samaṇa for many years; and having done so, (*and so forth, as below*, § 85, down to) he will be re-born as a deva in the Aruṇābha abode of the Sohamma heaven."[109] There a certain class[110] of devas are declared to enjoy an existence of four paliovama[111] periods;

tiṇa, (see Hemachandra iii, 69); but its existence hitherto, so far as I am aware, is unproved. I am disposed to think, that the reading *iṇa* has really arisen from a misunderstanding of the commentator's interpretation *ayam arthaḥ*, which was not intended to explain the grammatical force of *tiṇ'aṭṭhe*, but merely its general sense. Transcribers, misconceiving the commentator's meaning, changed *tiṇa* to *iṇa*, supposing that the latter might be a nom. sing. masc. corresponding to the neuter *iṇaṃ*.

[108] Text *pāünihii*, Skr. *prāvarishyati*. The Prākrit forms a new general base *pāüṇ* from the Skr. special base *pravriṇu* (of root *pra-ā-vṛi*), analogous to the Pr. base *suṇ*, 'to hear' from Skr. *shriṇu*, and others. The change of Skr. *vṛi* to Pr. *u* takes place by Hemachandra i, 131, where Pr. *pāüo* is given for Skr. *prāvṛitaḥ*. The derivation from Skr. *prâp*, Pr. *pāv* (see Ov., Index, p. 136) appears to me untenable.

[109] Text *kappa*, Skr. *kalpa*, 'aeon,' properly signifying an immense period of time, but by the Jains used also in a local sense to signify the twelve heavens or tiers of which the upper world is built up, and among which the Sohamma forms the lowest tier. The subdivisions of these tiers or *kappa* are called Vimāna or 'Abodes.' On the cosmology of the Jains, see Colebrooke's Essays, Vol. II, pp. 198, ff., also Bhag., pp 162, 170, 204, 215, 301, *et passim*.

[110] Text *athegaïya*, *lit.*, 'there are some,' *i. e.*, a certain number; Gujarātī paraph.: *kit'rā ek*, or Hindī *kit'ne ek*. See the Sanskrit comm. to Kap. (Sām.), § 14, p. 121.

[111] "The *paliovama*, Skr. *palyopama*, is a period measured by the time in which a vast well, one hundred yojanas every way, filled with minute bits of hair so closely packed that a river might be hurried over them without penetrating the interstices, could be emptied at the rate of one hair in a century." See Wilson's *Essays and Lectures*

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there also Ānanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, is declared to enjoy an existence of four paliovama periods.

63. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, for some time or other, abode elsewhere in a different country.

64. Then that Āṇanda, having *now* become a servant of the Samaṇa, devoted himself to mastering *the discrimination of* the living and liveless and (*as before*, § 58, down to) supplying the Nigganthas.

65. Then that Sivanandā, his wife, having *also now* become a servant of the Samaṇa, devoted herself (*as above*, § 64, down to) supplying the Nigganthas.

66. Then fourteen years passed by during which that Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, sanctified[112] himself by unwearying[113] exercises in the moral restraints *imposed* by the religious vows[114] as well as in the *general* renunciations and *special* posaha abstinences; and when he was in the middle of the fifteenth year, at some time or other, at the time of the midnight hour, while he was keeping religious vigils, there occurred to him the following inward[115] musing, hidden

Vol. I, p. 308. "This repeated ten *koṭis* of *koṭis* of times, (*i. e.*, 1,000,000,000,000,000) is a *sāgaropama*." See Colebrooke's *Essays*, Vol. II, p. 194. Stevenson, p. XXV, however, reverses this explanation.

[112] Text *appāṇaṃ bhāvemāna*, Skr. *ātmānaṃ bhāvayan*, explained by Skr. *vāsayan* in Skr. comm. to Nāy. § 5, 'training one-self (by self-mortifications) in holy thoughts,' raising up in one-self a holy frame of mind; cf. the Gujarātī paraph. to Ov., § 131, where *bhāviyappā*, is explained by *rūḍaï bhāvio chhaï chāritraï ātmā*.

[113] Text *uchchāvaya*, Skr. *uchchāvacha*, *lit.* 'high and low,' *i. e.* of every kind.

[114] *I. e.*, those of the twelvefold law of the householder, see §§ 13 ff.

[115] Text *ajjhatthiya*, explained uniformly in the Skr. commentaries (*e. g.*, to Nāy. 81) by *adhyātmika ātmāshraya*, 'referring to one's self'. There is clearly here a reminiscence of the Pāli *ajjhattiya*. But there are serious phonetic difficulties in this explanation; nor is it

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reflection: "Truly I am, in the city of Vāṇiyagāma, a person whom many princes (*as above* § 5, down to), and also (*as above*, § 5, down to) the support of my own family; hence on account of this hindrance, I am not able to live conformably with the teachings of the Law[116] received in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra. Therefore, it is truly better for me, to-morrow morning (*and so forth*, down to) after sunrise, *to prepare* abundant food (etc., *and acting in all respects*[117] like Pūraṇa, down to) place my eldest son in charge of my household; then having taken leave of my friends and of my eldest son, and having cleaned[118] a house for *keeping* the posaha *observances* in the midst *of my people* of the Nāya[119] clan, to live in conformity with the teachings of the Law as received in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra." Thus he reflected within himself, and

quite congruous with the context, which requires synonyms expressive of deep inward musing. The word seems rather to presuppose such a Skr. form as *adhyāsthita* 'abiding within.'

116 Text *antiyaṃ*, variant *antie*. The former is correct; it is adjectival, to be construed as an accusative singular feminine with *dhammapaṇṇattiṃ* In §§ 12, 58, the correct form is *antie*, being adverbial. In the latter case 'he took the Law on himself in the presence of the Samaṇa'; in the former case 'he observed the Law which he had received in the presence of the Samaṇa'.

117 *I. e.*, bathing, dressing, inviting friends and relatives, and giving them an entertainment.

118 Text *paḍilehitta*. See note 88.

119 Text *nāyakula*, Skr. *jñātṛi-kula*, the clan of the Jñātṛi kshattriyas, to which also Mahāvīra himself belonged, who hence bears the name of *Nāyaputta* (Skr. *Jñātṛiputra*) or *Nāyakulanandaṇa* or *Nāyamuṇi* (*Ind. St.*, vol. XVI, pp. 330, 331). This notice shows that Āṇanda belonged to Mahāvīra's clan. The Skr. comm. translates it by *svajana-gṛihe* 'in the house of his people,' which (unless it is merely intended as an explanation) would seem to show, that the true significance of the phrase was no more understood.

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accordingly, on the morrow he *prepared* abundant *food* (*and so forth*, everything as above), and on finishing the entertainment, he decorated and honoured his friends (etc.) with abundant flowers (etc.);[120] and having done so, he called his eldest son into the presence of those very friends (etc.), and then spoke *to him* thus: "Truly, my son, I am, in the city of Vāṇiyagāma, a person whom many princes (*and so forth*, exactly as he had been musing before, down to) to live *conformably with the Law*. Therefore, it is truly better for me now to appoint thee as the mainstay (etc.) of my own household and (*as above*, down to) to live *in conformity with the Law*."

67. Then the eldest son, saying "let it be so," respectfully assented to that proposal of Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa.

68. Then that Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, in the presence of those very friends (etc.), placed his eldest son in charge of his household, and having done so, he spoke *to them all* thus: "Do not you, beloved of the devas, from this day forward, any of you consult me or give notice to me regarding *any of the* many affairs (and so forth, *as above*, § 5), or cook and season for my behoof any food (etc.)."[121]

[120] *I. e.*, flowers, dresses, perfumes, garlands, and ornaments.

[121] Text *tubbhe kei āpuchchhaü*, Skr. *yuyaṃ kaśchidāpṛichchhatu*; so all MSS.; the construction is somewhat awkward, there being two nominatives, *tubbhe* (plur.) and *kei* (sing.), the verb agreeing with the latter. One would rather expect *tubbhaṃ* (gen. plur.) *kei āpuchchhaü*, 'let any of you consult'; and this construction, indeed, appears to occur elsewhere, where the same phrase is used, (see Leumann, in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. III. p. 341).—The two terms *āpuchchhaṇā* 'consulting' and *paḍipuchchhā* 'giving again notice' are technical terms of the Jain code of conduct, as given in the Sthānanga Sūtra (Benares ed., leaf 566). Ten modes of conduct are there laid down; *viz.*, 1, *ichchhākāra* or 'acting voluntarily'; *i. e.*, if any one wishes another to do anything for him, he is not to put any pressure on him; it may only be accepted, if done voluntarily; this especially applies to a Sādhu wishing any help from an inferior. 2, *michchhā-*

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69. Then that Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, took leave of his eldest son and of his friends and kinsmen; and having done so, he came out of his own house, and then went out of the city of Vāṇiyagāma, *walking* right through the midst of it. Having done so, he proceeded to

kāra (Skr. *mithyākāra*) or 'declaring (*an act*) to be false'; *i. e.*, if a Sādhu be betrayed into doing any act inconsistent with his profession, he is to own it in his heart to be false or wrong; *i. e.*, he is to express repentance (*paśchāttāpa kāra*). 3, *tahakkāra* (Skr. *tathākāra*) or 'expressing acquiescence' or 'acceptance'; *e. g.*, if a guru be asked any question, his reply is to be received as true and correct. 4, *Āvassiyā* (Skr. *āvaśyakī*, scl. *kriyā*) or 'acting unavoidably'; *e. g*, if a Sādhu, who should never unnecessarily come out of his shelter (*upāśraya*), finds it necessary to leave it, he should, on coming out, say "it is necessary." 5, *nisehiyā* (Skr. *niṣedha* or *niṣedhikā*, scl. *kriyā*) or 'finishing'; *e. g.*, if a Sādhu returns to his shelter, after having finished his necessary work, he is to indicate it by saying "finished." 6, *Āpuchchhaṇā* (Skr. *āprachchhana*) or 'consulting' or 'conferring'; *i. e*, if there is any work to be done, one should consult with those who have a right to be asked; *e. g.*, on going to a Jain temple, the guru should be asked. 7, *paḍipuchchhā* (Skr. *pratipṛichchhā*), or 'giving notice'; *i. e.*, even in the case of a previously given general permission or of a previous consultation, when the actual moment of action arrives, notice of doing it should again be given. 8, *chhandaṇā* (Skr. *chhandana*), or 'invitation'; *e. g.*, if a Sādhu returns from begging food, he is to invite the other Sādhus, who remained at home, to share his meal. 9, *nimantaṇā* (Skr. *nimantraṇa*), or 'making an offer'; *e. g.*, if a Sādhu has no food for himself, he is, on going to beg, to ask the other Sādhus whether he may bring some for them. 10, *uvasampayā* (Skr. *upasampat*), or 'receiving initiation'; *i. e.*, if any one goes to an Āchārya to receive from him initiation or further instruction in matters of knowledge, faith and conduct, he is to acknowledge himself as his disciple (*śiṣya*). These ten modes of conduct primarily apply to Sādhus; but some of them are also applicable to Shrāvakas. An instance of the sixth and seventh modes occurs in the present paragraph. An instance of the first mode will be found in § 81 (see note 152). Instances of the third mode occur frequently; see, *e. g.*, § 67, 87, 120, 122, etc.

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the Kollāga suburb, where his posaha-house was in the midst *of his people* of the Nāya-clan. He then swept the posaha-house, next examined a place for easing nature[122], and finally spread a bed of dabbha-grass, and placed himself upon it. And thus, in his posaha-house, keeping the posaha abstinences, and abiding on his bed of dabbha-grass he lived in conformity with the teachings of the Law which he had received in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra.

70. Then that Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, engaged in conforming himself to the standards of an uvāsaga[123]. Perfectly, in *thought, word and* deed,[124] he practised, maintained, satisfied, accomplished, proclaimed[125] and completed the *observance of* the first standard of an uvāsaga according to the sacred writings, according to the rules *prescribed in them*, according to the right way, and according to the truth.[126]

71. Then that Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa (*as above*, § 70, down to) completed the *observance of* the second standard of an uvāsaga, and likewise *that of* the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh *standards*.[127]

122 See note 89.

123 *I. e.*, 'servant' *of the Samaṇa*, see note 1. The word for 'standard' is *paḍimā*, Skr. *pratimā*, lit., 'a pattern, model, standard, rule'. It is used as a technical term for certain religious exercises of faith and self-mortification. See comm. to Kap. § 108, (note, p. 110).

124 The text has only *kāeṇaṃ*; but the rest of the standing phrase is to be supplied according to the commentary to Kap. (Sam.) § 63 (see the note on p. 126). It is also supplied in the Gujarātī paraphrase.

125 *I. e.*, he proclaimed that he had accomplished it, (Comm.)

126 See the Skr. commentary here and to Kap. (Sam.), § 63 (note on p. 126).

127 These eleven 'standards' are stated by the Skr. commentary to be the following :—the first is the *sammad-daṃsaṇa-paḍimā*, or shortly

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72. Then that Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, through these ascetic exercises, lofty, abundant, persevering and intense as they were, became withered, *and so forth*, (down to) emaciated and reduced to a skeleton.[123]

the *daṃsaṇa-paḍimā*, 'the standard of right views.' The second is the *vaya-paḍimā*, 'the standard of the vows,' *i. e.*, of the *aṇuvvaya* or the five lesser vows (see §§ 13-42). The third is the *sāmāiya-paḍimā*, or 'the standard of inward peace.' The fourth is the *posaha-paḍimā* or 'the standard of the posaha abstinences.' The fifth is the *paḍimā-paḍimā* or 'the standard of the statuesque posture.' The sixth is the *abambha-vajjaṇa-paḍimā* or 'the standard of abstention from incontinence.' The seventh is the *sachitt'āhāra-vajjaṇa-paḍimā* or 'the standard of abstention from eating living things.' The eighth is the *sayam-ārambha-vajjaṇā-paḍimā* or 'the standard of abstention from acting by oneself.' The ninth is the *pes'ārambha-vajjaṇa-paḍimā* or 'the standard of abstention from acting through servants' (see § 54). The tenth is the *uddiṭṭha-bhatta-vajjaṇa-paḍimā* or 'the standard of abstention from lawful food.' The eleventh is the *samaṇa-bhūa-paḍimā* or 'the standard of being a samaṇa' (or an ascetic). For the attainment of these several standards the same number of months is allotted as the standards occupy in the above mentioned order of succession; thus to the first standard one month is allotted, to the second, two, and so forth, to the eleventh standard, eleven months. The total amount of time, allotted to the eleven standards, is, thus, five years and one half. It will be readily understood that a rigorous exercise of the requirements of these standards will fit the devotee for the consummation which, of course, is the object of their institution—the religious suicide by a one-month's course of starvation. Of Āṇanda it is related (in § 66) that he lived as an *uvāsaga* householder for 14 years and one half, and (in § 89) that he compassed his death after 20 years. This allows exactly the required 5 years and one half for his life of an *uvasāga* ascetic.

[123] Text *dhamaṇi-santae*, Skr. *dhamani-santataḥ*, lit. 'covered with veins,' *i. e.*, so reduced in flesh that the network of veins could be seen all over the body.

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73. Then to that Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, at some time or other, at the time of the midnight hour, while he was keeping his religious vigils, there occurred the following inward (etc.) *reflection*: "Truly through these *ascetic exercises* (*as above*, § 72, down to) I have become reduced to a skeleton; yet there is still in me effort, work, strength, vigour, manly power and energy of faith; therefore seeing that there is still in me effort and (*as above*, down to) energy of faith, *and* seeing that my teacher and instructor in the Law, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, abides as the Jiṇa, and the Suhatthī[129], therefore it is better for me, to-morrow (*as above*, § 66, down to) after sunrise to devote myself to determined self-mortification by the last mortal emaceration, renouncing all food and drink and patiently waiting for my end."[130] Thus he reflected within himself, and accordingly on the morrow early (*as above*, § 66, down to) he devoted himself *to the self-mortification* by the last mortal emaceration (*as above*, down to) patiently waiting for his end.

74. Then to that Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, at

[129] *I. e.*, as the 'conqueror' of evil or the Redeemer, and as the 'granter of good' or the Saviour. From *Jiṇa* the Jain religion takes its name. The MSS. A B C read *suhatthī*. I take it to be a title equivalent to the Buddhist *sugato*, and representing the Skr. *suhastī*. The same title or name was born by a later Jain pontiff, said to have been a contemporary of Ashoka, and greatly successful in the spread of Jainism (see Kap., Transl., p. 290, footnote). The same word occurs in Bhag., p. 291, where, however, it is spelt *suhaṭṭhī*, and identified with Skr. *sukhārthī*; though the sense of it would be the same. MS. D and E give the reading *Sāvatthī*, which the Gujarātī paraph. explains to mean *Sāvatthī nagarīye* 'in the town of Sāvatthī' (*Shrāvastī*),—apparently a very incongruous explanation.

[130] *Lit.*, "not longing for my end." See § 57. On this religious suicide by starvation, see Āy. I, 7, 5—8 (Transl. pp. 70, 72, 74, 75, 76, footnotes).

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some time or other, by reason of his splendid perseverance, his splendid transformation, his increasingly developed *psychic* forces,[131] and his patient avoidance of the taint of all acts which tend to prevent its acquisition, there was vouchsafed the gift of supernatural sight.[132] Towards the East, in the

131 *Lit.*, 'his psychic forces becoming improved.' See below note 138.

132 Text *ohi-nāṇaṃ*, Skr. *avadhi jñānam, i. e., avachchhinna-viṣaya-jñānam*, lit. 'a knowledge of limits,' *i. e.*, of limited or circumscribed objects. It is one of the five kinds of knowledge accepted by the Jains (see Bhag., p. 208, Colebrooke, vol. I, p. 445). The designation of 'limited knowledge' it appears to have received in contradistinction of the 'unlimited' knowledge or *kevala-jñanam*. This would appear from the quotation in the Skr. comm. to Kap. § 112 (Jacobi's edition, note on p. 111), *neraïyā deva-titthankarā ya ohissa bāhirā honti, pāsanti savvao khalu, sesā deseṇa pāsanti, i. e.*, 'the Neraïya, Deva and Titthankara are outside any limit (*i. e.*, are not subject to 'limited' knowledge); they indeed can see in every way (without any restriction), but the rest can only see in the regular (or ordinary) way.' (The interpretation of this quotation in the Translation of the Kalpa Sūtra, p. 257, is hardly correct). The five kinds of knowledge are defined in the *Sarva Darshana Sangraha* (Bibl. Ind. ed., p. 32). The highest kind is the *kevala* or absolute knowledge of the great ascetics (Tirthankaras, etc.); it is unlimited in every sense. Next comes the *maṇapajjava* (Skr. *manaḥ-paryāya*), or knowledge of the thoughts of others. Next the *ohi* (Skr. *avadhi*) or knowledge of limited objects; next *suya* (Skr. *shruta*), or refined knowledge; finally, the lowest, *maï* (Skr. *mati*), or common sense knowledge. The two lowest are kinds of natural knowledge, the other three are supernatural; yet the *ohi-nāṇa*, though supernatural, still cannot go beyond the limit of physical objects; the *maṇa-pajjava-nāṇa* goes a step further and penetrates also the secrets of the heart; finally the *kevala-nāṇa* extends to everything whatsoever.—The *ohi-nāṇa* is thus defined in the Sarva Darshana Sangraha, *asamyag-darshanādi-guṇa-janita-kṣayopashama-nimittam avachchhinna-viṣayaṃ jñānam avadhiḥ, i. e.*, the circum-

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salt[133] sea, he recognised and beheld an area of five hundred yojanas, and the same towards the South and West.[134] Towards the North he distinguished and saw as far as the Vāsadhara mountain, called Chulla Himavanta.[135] Upwards he distinguished and saw as far as the Sohamma heaven. Downwards in this Rayaṇappabhā earth[136] he distinguished and saw as far as the Loluyachchua hell the period *of punishment* in which extends to 84,000 years.

75. At that time and at that period, the Samaṇa, the

scribed knowledge which is produced by the extinction of the corruption born of such qualities as wrong view etc., is called 'Limit.'—Other instances of the exercise of *ohiṇāṇa* will be found in Kap. § 15, (Transl., p. 223), and *Ind. St.*, Vol. XVII, p. 109.

133 This is the first of the numerous *samudda* or mundane seas, accepted by the Jains. In it is situated the first continent, called *Jambuddīva* (Skr. *Jambudvīpa*), or our own earth; see Bhag., pp. 204, 210, 239, 240.

134 Text *pachchatthimeṇaṃ*, a form made analogously to *puratthimeṇaṃ*. As the latter represents the Skr. *purastāt*, so the former, a Skr. *pratyastāt*. In Sanskrit the latter word appears to be only preserved in certain compounds, such as *pratyasta-gamana*, *lit.* 'going to the West,' hence 'sunset.' Both forms are derived by the Prāk. pleonastic suffix *ima*.

135 On the *Chulla-himavanta* or 'Little Himālaya,' see Weber's Shatruñjaya Māhātmyam, p. 19. It is called so to distinguish it from the *Mahā-himavanta* or 'Great Himālaya.' Commonly it is called simply Himavanta. It is the first of the six Vāsadhara mountains, which form the barriers between the seven *vāsa* (Skr. *varṣa*) or 'regions' of Jambuddīva. See note 133.

136 The Jains believe in a series of seven *puḍhavīs* or earths, Each 'earth' contains numerous seas (*samudda*), continents (*dīva*), and hells (*naraya*). Our own earth or *Jambuddīva* belongs to the *Rayaṇappabhā*. See Bhag. p. 107, 240.—*Loluyachchua* = *loluya-achchua*. It may be noted that there is also an *Achchua* heaven (or *kappa*), the twelfth or uppermost of the series; see Bhag., p. 304.

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blessed Mahāvīra, arrived on a visit. A company went out *to hear him* (*as above*, § 9, down to) and returned.

76. At that time and at that period, the senior disciple of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, the monk called Indabhūī, of the family of Goyama,[137] of the height of seven hands, of a symmetrically built figure, with joints most firmly knit *as it were* by double mortise, collar, and pin, with a complexion as light as the filaments of the lotus or the streak of a piece of gold on the touchstone, a man of severe austerity, of brilliant austerity, of ardent austerity, of awful austerity, of grand austerity, a mighty one, a man of sublime merits, an awful ascetic, practising a life of sublime continence,[138] neglectful of all care for the body,[139] and charged with a store of the far-reaching fiery psychic force,[140] was devoting himself to the sanctification of self by the uninterrupted ascetic practice of never eating any

[137] On this and the following epithets, see Bhag., pp. 315—319; also App. III, note on p. 45.

[138] Text *bambhachera*, Skr. *brahmacharya*. This which is commonly translated 'chastity,' is not only abstention from unlawful, but from all sexual intercourse, therefore 'continence.'

[139] Text *uchchhūḍha*, Skr. *utkṣipta* (Hem. II, 127, properly *utkṣubdha*, see Index, p. 104, to Ov.), 'abandoned,' 'neglected.' The term *uchchhūḍha-sarīre* is a synonym of *vosaṭṭha-kāe* (Kap. § 117), and is explained in the Skr. comm. by *saṃskāra-parityāgāt* (Bhag. p. 317) or *parikarma-varjanāt*, 'neglect of all attention to the body.'

[140] Text *sankkhitta-viula-teu-lese*, Skr. *sankṣipta-vipula-tejo-leshyaḥ*. This is explained in Malayagiri's comm. to the *Sūrya-prajñapti* (see Bhag., p. 318), to be a kind of fiery force which is acquired as the reward of distinguished asceticism. Its nature is such as to be able to burn up objects situated over an area extending over many yojanas (*vipulā*); yet it may be compressed (and thus stored up) within the small compass of the body (*sankṣiptā*). The idea is akin to that of a store of electric force. It is clearly meant to express a psychic force capable of acting

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but the sixth meal,[141] and *generally* by *a course of* self-restraint and penance.

77. Then that blessed Goyama, when the turn for the indulgence[142] of his sixth meal came round, engaged in private study during the first *three hours'* period[143] of the afternoon; during the second period he devoted himself to meditation, during the third period, without hurry, haste or bustle, he examined his mouth-protector,[144] and afterwards his vessels, clothes, etc.[145]; next he wiped his vessels,

destructively at a distance. The Jains believe in the existence of six different psychic forces (or *lesa*), indicated by six different colours, *teo* being the brilliant colour of fire or gold. See Bhag., p. 160. For an instance of the exercise of this *teu-lesā*, see Bhag., p. 214.

141 Text *chhaṭṭhaṃ chhaṭṭheṇaṃ*, supply *bhatteṇaṃ*. The Jains, like other Hindūs, take two meals daily. The practice here referred to, therefore, consists in taking only one meal in every three days, or fasting for two days and a half at a time. The meal is taken on the evening of the third day.

142 Text *khamaṇa*, Skr. *kshamaṇa*, 'pardon, forbearance, indulgence, permission'. It is a common Indian idiom to say; 'pardon me this,' in the sense of 'permit me to do this.'

143 Text *porisī*, Skr. *paurushī*, explained in the Skr. comm. to Kap. § 113 (see p. 112) by *pāshchātya-prahara-māna*, 'a three hours' period of the afternoon'. It appears to be the same as a *yāma*, 'a period of about three hours' (*prahara*). The third *porisī*, when he prepared to go on his begging round, would commence about 6 o'clock of the afternoon, according to our time.

144 Text *muhapattī*, Skr. *mukha-patrī*, lit., 'a leaf for the mouth,' a small piece of cloth, suspended over the mouth to protect it against the entrance of any living thing. See Bhag., p. 195, where *muhamottiyaṃ* is probably an error for *muha-pattiyaṃ*.

145 Text *bhāyaṇa-vatthāiṃ*, Skr. *bhājana-vastr'ādi*. The usual objects of a Jain monk's travelling outfit are, beside the mouth-protector previously mentioned, an alms bowl, a broom, and a gar-

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clothes, etc., and then taking them up, he went to where the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, was, and praised and worshipped him; and having done so, he spake *to him* thus: "I desire, Reverend Sir, with your permission, as the turn for the indulgence of my sixth meal has arrived, to go round the city of Vāṇiyagāma, to the upper, lower, and middle classes, on a begging tour of house-to-house collection.[146] May it so please you, O beloved of the devas; do not deny me".

ment. Under certain circumstances, however, he is allowed to have three garments (two lower and one upper), two vessels (one for drinking, the other for alms), a stick, an umbrella, etc. See Ay. II, 2, 3, § 2, II, 3, 1, § 9; II, 6, 1, § 1; II, 7, 1, § 1. The single garment of a monk is a *kambala*, and his alms-bowl is called *paḍiggaha*. Hence the use of the more general terms *bhāyaṇa* and *vattha* would seem to indicate a plurality of those pieces of Goyama's outfit. The reading of the MSS. *bhāyaṇa (pamajjaï)* is simply the usual abbreviation, for the full *bhāyaṇa-vatthāiṃ*, which, for the sake of clearness, is adopted in the text. Compare also the vow in § 58 (p. 31).

[146] Text *ghara-samuddāṇassa*. In the MSS. the usual spelling of the word is *samudāṇa* which is uniformly taken as an equivalent of the Skr. *samudāya* 'multitude,' both by the Skr. commentaries and the Gujarātī paraphrases. Thus here the praph. has *ghare sāmudān kī bhikṣā ne arthe bhramaṇ bhaṇī vichare* 'he wandered about for the sake of begging alms from a multitude of houses.' There is no Skr. comm. here; but the adjective *ghara-samudāṇiyā* (*sic*) occurs in Ov. § 120, which the Skr. comm. there explains by *griha-samudāyaṃ pratigrihaṃ bhikṣāyā yeṣāṃ grāhyatā asti te grihasamudānikāḥ*, 'those who have to beg alms from the multitude of houses, *i. e.*, from house to house, are called *ghara-samudāṇiyā*.' Similarly the paraph. to that passage has: *ghara-samudāṇiyā je ghaṇā ghar nī thorī thorī bhikṣā lyaï, puṇa ek ghar nī bhikṣā āhār na lyaï, i. e.*, '*Samudāṇiyā* are those called who take a little food as alms from each of many houses, but do not take *all* their food as alms from *only* one

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78. Then the blessed Goyama, having obtained permission from the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, went away from the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and from the Dūïpalāsa cheïya; and having done so, he proceeded, without hurry, haste or bustle, carefully guarding his steps by steadily examining with his eyes the ground before him to the distance of four cubits,[147] to where the city of Vāṇiyagāma was. Having done so, he went round

house.' The meaning of the word, whatever its true derivation may be, is thus given correctly. For *ghara-samuddāṇiyā* is in Ov. § 120 distinguished from *du-ghara'ntariyā* 'those who enter two houses,' *ti-ghara'ntariyā* 'those who enter three houses' for the purpose of begging their food, etc. That is, some begged all the food required by them from one house, others from two houses, and so forth; others again limited themselves to no definite number of houses, but begged a little food from house to house, till they had collected as much as they required. The latter practice is called *ghara-samuddāṇa* 'house to house collection'. From the comparison of these terms, it seems clear, that the correct spelling of the word is *samuddāṇa*, which is given by a few of the MSS. (see various readings to Ov. § 120). It is derived from *sam* + *ud* + *dāna* (root *dā*), and is a synonym of *samādāna* or *samupādāna*. That this is the correct spelling, is also shown by the fact that the consonant *d* is never found elided in any MS. If *samudāṇa* were correct, the spelling *samuāṇa* would be preferable. But the uniform retention of *d* points to the true spelling with *dd*. The assumption of *samudāna* being a contraction of *samudādāna*, analogous to *samudātta* for *samudādatta*, is not admissible, as it is only the short syllable *da*, but not the long *dā*, that may be suppressed.—In the view that *samudāṇa* is equivalent to *samudāya*, it must, I suppose, be assumed that *samudāṇa* is a contraction of *samudaaṇa*, for Skr. *samudāyana*. All that can be said for such a derivation is, that it is not impossible.

147 *I. e*, lest he should tread on any living being. See the rules on *iriyā* or 'walking,' in Āy. II, 3, 1, (esp. § 6, Transl., p. 137). The text for 'four cubits' is *juga* (Skr. *yuga*).

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the city of Vāṇīyagāma, to the upper, lower, and middle classes, on his begging tour of house-to-house collection.

79. Then that blessed Goyama, going on his round of begging alms (exactly as *described*[148] in the Paṇṇattī, *and so forth, as before*, § 78, down to) in the city of Vāṇiyagāma, duly collected[149] food and drink just as he received[150] it; and having done so, he went out of the city of Vāṇiyagāma; and then as he was passing close by the suburb of Kollāga, he heard the voices of many people. These many people were thus saying (etc.) to one another: "Truly, O beloved of the devas, *behold there*, a disciple of the Samaṇa the blessed one! A servant of *that* Samaṇa, Āṇanda by name, is devoting himself in his posaha-house *to the self-mortification* by the last mortal emaceration, (*as above*, § 73, down to) patiently waiting for his end."

80. Then to that Goyama, on listening and attending to this *conversation* in the presence of those many people, there occurred the following inward reflection (etc.): "I will go to him, I will see Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa." Thus he reflected, and accordingly he proceeded to the posaha-house in the suburb of Kollāga, where Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, was.

81. Then that Āṇanda, the servant of the Samana, saw

[148] The name Paṇṇattī appears to be an abbreviation of Vivāha Paṇṇatī, which is another name of the Bhagavatī, the fifth of the Jain Angas. See Bhag., pp. 368, 371, *et passim*, also *Ind. St.*, Vol. XVII, p. 99.

[149] Text *paḍiggāheï*, Skr. *pratigrāhayati*. The usual spelling of the MSS. is *paḍigāheï*, see Jacobi's note to Kap. (Sam.) § 14, (p. 121).

[150] Text *ahāpajjattaṃ*, *sammaṃ*, Skr. *yathā-paryāptam*, *samyak*. The monk is directed to accept what is given, and not to choose or ask what pleases him. See the rules on the subject in the Ācārānga Sūtra, Book II, Lecture 1.

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the blessed Goyama approaching; and having done so, he, being happy and pleased (*and so forth*, down to) in his heart, praised and worshipped the blessed Goyama, and then spoke *to him* thus: "Truly, Reverend Sir, having through the *ascetic exercises*, lofty (*as above*, § 72, down to) become reduced to a skeleton, I am not able to come forward into the presence of any beloved of the devas, in order to salute him by *circumambulating him* thrice and bowing my head to his feet:[151] so do you, Reverend Sir, out of your own will and without compulsion,[152] come even hither, so that I may praise and worship the beloved of the devas by thrice-circumambulating him and bowing my head to his feet.

82. Then that blessed Goyama went to where Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, was.

83. Then that Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, praised and worshipped the blessed Goyama, by *circumambulating him* thrice and bowing his head to his feet; and having done so, he spoke *to him* thus: "Is it so, Reverend Sir, that to a householder, to one who resides within his *own* house, *the gift of* supernatural sight may be vouchsafed?"

Goyama replied: "Yes, it is so."

Āṇanda continued: "If then, Reverend Sir, to a house-

151 The reference is, of course, to Goyama himself. The ceremony consists in walking round a person thrice, then falling on the ground before him, and touching his feet with the forehead. See note 17.

152 Text *ichchhākāreṇaṃ aṇabhiogeṇaṃ*, Skr. *ichchhākareṇa anabhiyogena*. According to the Jains there are ten ways of conduct in intercourse (*sāmāchārī* or *saṃvyavahāra*), which are enumerated in the 10th chapter of the Sthānānga Sūtra (Benares ed. leaf 566). Among these the *ichchhākāra*, i. e., acting of one's own will is the first. The reading *abhiogeṇaṃ* is false, because inconsistent with *ichchhākāra*, and a Sādhu should not act from compulsion. See also note 121.

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holder (*as above*, down to) may be vouchsafed, truly, Reverend Sir, to me too, *who am* a householder and one who resides within his *own* house, *the gift of* supernatural sight has been vouchsafed. I can recognize and behold, towards the East, in the salt sea, *an area* of five hundred yojanas (*as above*, § 74, down to) the Loluyachchua hell."

84. Then that blessed Goyama spoke thus to Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa: "It is so, Aṇanda, that to a householder (*as above*, § 83, down to) may be vouchsafed; but certainly not such a very extensive one. Therefore do thou, Āṇanda, acknowledge thy sin in this matter,[153] promise amendment, and take upon thee a penance."

85. Then that Āṇanda spoke thus to the blessed Goyama: "Is it so, Reverend Sir, that according to the word of the Jiṇa, one should make acknowledgment of sin and (*as above*, § 84, down to) take upon one's self *a penance* regarding things *that are* true, real, genuine and actual?"

Goyama replied: "No, it is not so."

Āṇanda continued: "If, Reverend Sir, according to the word of the Jina, one need not make acknowledgment of sin regarding things *that are* true (*and so forth*, as above), nor (*as above*, § 84, down to) take upon one's self a penance, then, Reverend Sir, do you indeed yourself acknowledge your sin in this matter and (*as above*, § 84, down to) take on yourself *a penance*."

[153] See note 155. The 'sin' consisted in the untruthful or mistaken exaggeration of the gift vouchsafed to him.—Text *samuppajai*, Skr. *samutpadyate*. The MSS. spell the word almost uniformly with a single *p*. The same peculiarity, or irregularity, of spelling may be observed in a few other words, such as *paḍiggāheï* (§ 79), *samuddāṇaṃ* (§§ 77, 78), *uvvaṭṭaṇaṃ* (§ 26), etc., which are almost uniformly spelt in the MSS. *padigāheï*, *samudāṇaṃ*, *uvaṭṭaṇam*, etc.

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86. Then that blessed Goyama, being thus spoken to by Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, becoming doubtful, unsettled, and filled with distrust,[154] departed again from the presence of Āṇanda; and having done so, he returned to where the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, was in the Dūipalāsa cheïya. Having arrived there, and standing at a little distance from the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, he confessed[155] *any sins he had committed during* his going and

[154] Text *sankie, kankhie, viigichchhāsamāvanne.* The terms are the same as those mentioned as 'transgressions' in § 44.

[155] Text *āloeï* and *paḍikkamaï*, Skr. *ālochayati* and *pratikrāmati.* The former word is the same as the Pāli *ārocheti.* It means: 'to make known, inform, give an account of, acknowledge, etc.' In this general sense it is used in the present passage. It may, however, also be used in a special sense, in conjunction with *paḍikkamaï*, as the technical term for the act of 'confession of sin.' It thus occurs in § 89, *āloïya-paḍikkante;* and similarly in §§ 84 and 85, where the second portion of the term, *paḍikkama°*, is replaced by the rubric *jāva.* Sometimes, however, this second portion is used by itself, (being, as it were, an abbreviated form) to denote 'confession.' It is thus used in the present passage. It may be added, that both *āloeï* and *paḍikkamaï*, when used in this special and technical sense, are constructed with the genitive of the matter regarding which 'confession of sin' is made. In that case probably the phrase must be looked upon as elliptic, the word 'sin' being suppressed; *e. g.*, *tassa thāṇassa āloehi* standing for *tassa thāṇassa pāvaṃ āloehi.* With regard to the exact meaning of the double term *āloïya-paḍikkante*, etc., there appears to prevail some misunderstanding. *Āloyaṇā* is not a 'minor confession' or a confession of minor offences, as compared with *paḍikkamaṇa*, 'the confession of sins.' Both terms refer to the same class of 'sins and offences' (Prāk. *michchhā-dukkaḍāṇi*), and *āloyaṇā* denotes the avowal (Skr. *nivedana*) of these to the 'priest' (*guru*) or 'superior' (*aggala*), while *paḍikkamaṇa* (lit. 'stepping back, withdrawing from') denotes the 'promise of amendment' (Skr. *akaraṇa-viṣayīkaraṇaṃ* or "*na*

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coming; then he gave an account of what he had accepted

punaḥ kariṣyāmi' ity abhyupagamanam; see *Ind. St.*, Vol. XVI, p. 433). On the 'promise of amendment' followed, as a matter of course, the 'priestly absolution.' Hence the double term *āloïya-paḍikkante,* in the connection in which it usually occurs, may practically be taken to be equivalent to 'one who has made confession and received absolution.' This view of the two terms *āloyaṇā* and *paḍikkamaṇa* is borne out uniformly by all Skr. commentaries, and vernacular paraphrases. In the present case (§§ 84-89) there is no Skr. commentary, but the Gujarātī paraph. to § 84 has: *ehija sthānak ṭhikāṇe āloya, michchhā-dukkaḍ de, tapakarm no prāyachchhit tumhe lyo,* i. e., 'having acknowledged your sin in this matter and admitted that it is a sin and offence, take on yourself some self-mortification as a penance.' In the Skr. comm. to Ov. § 117, the words *aṇāloïya-appaḍikantā* are explained by *akṛitālochanās tato doṣād anivṛittāsh cha,* i. e., 'having made no acknowledgment (of sin) and hence being not freed from guilt.' In the Gujarātī paraph. to Ov. § 88, the words *āloïya-padikkantā* are explained by *āloyā pāp lāgā te siddh-ādik āgali prakāshyā, paḍikamyā michchhā-dukkaḍ-ādikaï, i. e.,* '*Āloyaṇā* means: on the occurrence of any sin, to make it known to the priest and other authorities, while *padikkamana* means the admission of sin, offences, etc.' The same words are in the paraph. to Ov. § 119, thus explained: *doṣ lāgā huïte guru samīpaï āvī sambhalāvaï, paḍikkamī pāp thakī nivartī naï,* i. e., 'on the occurrence of any sin, having gone to the priest and informed him, and having turned away from sin.' It may be noted that here *pāp* or 'sin,' is used in connection with *paḍikkamaṇa,* while, in the paraph. to § 88, it was used with reference to *āloyaṇā.* Similarly *doṣ* or 'guilt' is here used with *āloyaṇā,* while in the Skr. comm. to § 117, it was used with *paḍikkamaṇa.* This clearly shows that both terms *āloyaṇā* and *paḍikkamaṇa* are applicable to the same kinds of sins and offences, and only denote two different acts to be done in reference to them. Nor does the Skr. commentary to Bhag., p. 300, which is quoted in support of the erroneous view in Ov., Index, p. 102, yield any different interpretation. The object of the commentator, in that passage, is simply to explain that the compound phrase *āloïya-paḍikkante* is susceptible of two different grammatical

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and what he had refused[156] as alms; and next he showed *what he had brought with him as* his food and drink. Having done so, he praised and worshipped the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and then spake to *him* thus: "Truly, Reverend Sir, having obtained permission from you I *went (and so forth; here he related everything exactly as it had happened, see* §§ 78—85, down to), then becoming doubtful (etc., *see* § 86) I departed again from the presence of Āṇanda, the servant

constructions. It may be taken either as a proper 'tatpuruṣa' compound, *viz.*, 'he who promises to abstain from what he has acknowledged,' or as a 'karmadhāraya' compound, *viz.*, 'he who has acknowledged as well as given up his sins and offences.' So far as the exegesis of the technical phrase is concerned, there is no difference between the two explanations of the commentator; nor, indeed, in these particular statements, was his object an exegetical, but a grammatical one.—With regard to the identification of *āloyaṇā* with Pāli *ārochanā* (verb *ārocheti*), the commentaries and paraphrases uniformly identify *āloyaṇā* with Skr. *ālochanā*, in the sense of *nivedana*, 'making known,' 'avowal.' By Professors Oldenberg and Leumann (see Ov., Index, p. 102) it is identified with Skr. ārochanā (cf. Pāli verb *ārocheti*). This view, probably, is ultimately correct. The truth is that *ālochanā* and *ārochanā* (roots *āluch* and *āruch*) are only two different forms of the same word. The two consonants *l* and *r* are interchangeable, the usual change being from *r* to *l*.

156 Text *esaṇam aṇesaṇaṃ*, Skr. *eṣaṇam aneṣaṇam*, lit. 'begging and not begging.' The Gujarātī paraph. explains it by *sūjhato asūjhato āhār* or 'pure and impure food.' The words, therefore, are equivalent to *esaṇijjam aṇesaṇijjaṃ*, i. e., 'what may and what may not be begged,' or 'permitted and forbidden food.' One who keeps himself free from sin in begging is called *esaṇā-samie*, 'circumspect in begging.' Similarly one who keeps himself free from sin in his going and coming is called *iriyā-samie*, 'circumspect in walking', which is explained in the Skr. commentary to Kap. § 118 by *gamanāgamanādau samitaḥ samyak pravṛittaḥ*, i. e., 'conducting one's self perfectly in one's going and coming.' (See Kap. § 118, Ov. § 27.)

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of the Samaṇa; and having done so, I returned quickly to this place. Now, Reverend Sir, *tell me*, is it for Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, to acknowledge his sin in that matter and (*as above*, § 84, down to) to take on himself a penance,[157] or is it for me *to do so?*"

The Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, turning to Goyama,[158] spoke to him thus: "Indeed, Goyama, it is thou who shouldst acknowledge thy sin in that matter, and (*as above*, § 84, down to) take on thyself a penance; and of Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, thou shouldst ask pardon for that matter."[159]

87 Then that blessed Goyama, saying "be it so," humbly accepted the decision of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra; and having done so, he acknowledged his sin in that matter, and took on himself *ascetic exercises* (and so forth, *as above*, § 72), and of Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, he asked pardon for that matter.

88. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, for some time or other, abode elsewhere in a *different* country.

89. Then that Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, having sanctified himself by many *exercises in the moral restraints imposed by the* religious vows (and so forth, *as above*, § 86), and having followed the profession of a servant of the Samaṇa for twenty years, and having duly observed in his body (etc.) the eleven standards of an uvāsaga, *now* mortified[160] himself by *a course of* emaceration continued through

[157] Text *udāhu*, Skr. *utāho*. Perhaps the same word occurs in Āy. I, 2, 4, § 4.

[158] Lit. 'saying, Goyama.'

[159] That is, for having disputed Āṇanda's well-founded claim.

[160] Text *jhūsittā*, which the Gujarātī paraph. explains by *nirmala shuddha karī ne*, 'having made himself pure or holy,' 'having sanctified himself.' This is not a translation, but an explanation. The commentaries give two different interpretations; usually they make the root

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one month, during which he deprived himself of sixty meals, remaining entirely without food. At the end of the month allotted for his death,[161] having made confession of sins and

jhūs to be a synonym of the root *sev*. This is evidently founded on a confusion of the two roots *jus* (Skr. *juṣ*) and *jūs* = *jhūs* (Skr. *jūṣ* or *yūṣ* or *jhūṣ*). Or they explain *jhūs* by *kṣapitaṃ* or *kṣīṇaṃ kar*, 'to starve, to waste'. The latter is the correct view.

[161] Text *kāla-māse*. This is undoubtedly the correct reading, preferable to *kalaṃ-māse* or *kāle māse* given by some MSS.; see note 14 on page 8. The reading *kāle māse* is perhaps a mere clerical blunder for *kalaṃ māse*. The term *kāla-māse* means 'within the month allotted for the purpose of effecting one's death,' and refers to the words *māsiyāe saṃlehaṇāe*, or 'self-mortification lasting for one month', and *saṭṭhiṃ bhattāiṃ chhedittā*, 'depriving one's self of sixty meals.' As a Jain takes two meals a day, the latter phrase means that he starves himself for one month, and is equivalent to the phrase *māsiyā saṃlehaṇā* or 'monthly starvation'. The object, as well as the result, of this monthly starvation is to effect one's death, a religious suicide. Hence the 'month of starvation' is called 'the month of death'. The Guj. paraph. rightly renders the phrase by *kāla-mase maraṇ nā avasar naï vikhai kāl maraṇ karī nai* or 'having effected his death within the period (allotted) for dying,' (see, *e. g.*, the paraph. of Ov. § 69).—This kind of religious suicide, by means of a one month's starvation, appears to have been a favourite resource with Jain devotees. Thus it is recorded of the monk (*aṇāgara*) Khandaga (Bhag. §§ 77, 79, pp. 300, 302), and of the layman (samaṇovāsaga) Ambaḍa (Ov. § 100) and of all the pious men, whose story is related in the Uvāsagadasāo. It is also said to have been the mode of death of the patriarchs Pārshwa (Kap. § 168), and Arishṭanemi (Kap. 182). Of course the phrase *kāla-māsa* does not necessarily mean, that the death actually occurred at the end of the month. It only shows that the death is intended to be effected by a course of a month's starvation, and it may occur at any time within the month, after a longer or shorter period. Hence

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promise of amendment,[162] and being sunk in deep spiritual abstraction,[163] he attained his death, and was re-born as

it is said in Ov. § 69, *appataro vā bhujjataro vā kāla-māse kālaṃ kichchā*, i. e. 'having effected death within the month of death, after a shorter or longer time.' Or it is said (as in Ov. § 88) generally: *bahūiṃ bhattāiṃ aṇasaṇāe chheditta kāla-māse kālaṃ kichchā*, i. e., 'having effected death within the month of death by the continued deprivation of many meals'. Or again it is said simply (as in Ov. §§ 70, 71, etc.) *kālā-māse kālaṃ kichchā*, 'having effected death within the month of death,' without any further definition of the time concerned in the process. It is not improbable that the term *kāla-māse* which originally had a very definite sense, came to be used sometimes in an indefinite way, as meaning simply 'the time of death', 'the period allotted for effecting one's death'. The proper term, however, for the idea in this indefinite sense, is *kāla-pariyāe*, which is always used in the Āchārānga Sūtra in those chapters where the different modes of religious suicide are described (see Ky. I, 7, 4-7).

162 See note 155.

163 Text *samāhi-patte*, Skr. *samādhi-prāptaḥ*. The term *samādhi* indicates a lethargic condition of the body, induced by absolute and long-continued fasting, with its attendant effects upon the mind and will; a state of bodily and mental coma. The Guj. paraph. here simply renders it with *santoṣa* 'peace,' but the real meaning of the term is better brought out by the Guj. paraphrase to Ov. § 88, *samādhi sharīraī samādhi, tathā dyān dar'shan chāritra nī nirvighnatā, te pāmai chai*, i e., 'he obtained composure of the body, and freedom of conduct, thought and knowledge'; or the paraph. to Ov. § 100, *sharīr nī samādhi, tathā bhāv thī dyān chāritra nī samādhi*, i. e., 'composure of the body and thus composure of conduct and thought (abstracted) from the world'. The condition of a person in *samādhi* is thus described in Ov. § 30, VI, *su-samāhiya-pāṇi-pāe kummo iva, gutt'indie, savva-gāya-paḍisaṃlīṇe chiṭṭhai*, i. e, 'he remains with his hands and feet well-drawn together like a turtle, his senses inactive (benumbed), and his whole body contracted (collapsed)'. The whole description is clearly that of a bodily and mental collapse, though,

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a deva in the Aruṇa abode, *situated* towards the north-east of the grand abode of the Sohamma paradise, in the Sohamma heaven. There a certain class of devas is ordained to enjoy an existence through four paliovama periods. There Āṇanda also is ordained to enjoy an existence through four paliovama periods.

90. *Then Goyama enquired of Mahāvīra:* "Reverend Sir, Āṇanda, the deva, on making his descent from that world of devas after the termination of his *allotted* life (etc.),—where will he go to, and where will he be re-born?"

Mahāvīra replied: "O Goyama, in the Great Videha country he will attain perfection."

(*Here the usual* Conclusion[164] *is to be inserted.*)

End of the First Lecture of the Seventh Anga, *called* the Uvāsagadasāo.

as it was but natural under the circumstances, the terms are chosen so as to surround the condition with a mystic halo.

[164] Text *nikkhevo*, Skr. *nikṣepaḥ*. The comm. says: "by way of conclusion the following should be added: 'Truly, Jambū, this was taught by the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, as the purport of the first lecture.'"

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SECOND LECTURE.

91. *Jambū enquired:* "If, Reverend Sir, the Samaṇa (*as above,* § 2, down to) who has passed away, has taught this as the purport of the first lecture of the seventh Anga, called the Uvāsagadasāo, what then, Reverend Sir, did he teach as the purport of the second lecture?"

92. *Suhamma replied:* "Truly, Jambū, at that time and at that period there was a town called Champā. *Near it* was the cheïya Puṇṇabhadda. Its king was Jiyasattū. In it lived the householder Kāmadeva, and his wife Bhaddā. *That householder possessed* a treasure of six kroṛ *measures* of gold deposited in a safe place, *a capital of* six kroṛ *measures* of gold put out on interest, a well-stocked estate of the value of six kroṛ *measures* of gold, and six herds, each herd consisting of ten thousand head of cattle. *At a certain time* the arrival *of the Samaṇa took place.* (*Then* as Āṇanda *had done, Kāmadeva also* went out *to hear him,* and, like him, he also took on himself the law of a householder. All this is to be related *here, exactly as before in* §§ 58—68, down to *where it is said that*) having taken leave of his eldest son and of his friends and kinsmen, he proceeded to where his posaha-house was; and having done so, he (*acting* like Āṇanda[165], *as in* § 69, down to) lived in conformity with the teachings of the Law which he had received in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra.

93. Then *one day* in the presence of that Kāmadeva, the

[165] All MSS. have *Āṇaṅde*, as if it were a portion of the narrative. It can hardly be doubted, however, from the analogy of other such passages, that the words belong to a rubrical direction. The MSS. are not entirely uniform in the use of the nominative singular terminations *o* and *e*. But the general consensus seems to favour the rule that the termination *o* belongs to the rubric, while the termination *e* is proper to the narrative.

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servant of the Samaṇa, at the time of the midnight hour, there appeared a certain false and lying deva.

94. On that occasion that deva had changed himself into the form of a huge pisāya[166]. Of the pisāya form of that deva the following is said to be a full description[167]: its head was fashioned like a cattle-feeding basket,[168] its hairs looked like the awns of ears of rice and shone with a tawny glare; its forehead was fashioned like the belly[169] of a large water jar;[170] its eyebrows were like lizards' tails, dishevelled, and of an aspect disgusting and hideous; its eyes were protruding from its globular[171] head, being of an aspect disgusting and hideous; its ears were exactly like a pair of winnowing sieves, disgusting and hideous to behold; its nose was similar to the snout of a ram, and its two nostrils were fashioned like a pair of cooking-stoves with large orifices;[172] its beard was like the tail of a horse, of an exceed-

[166] Text *pisāya*, Skr. *pishācha*, a kind of superhuman monster.

[167] Text *vaṇṇāvāse*, according to the comm., Skr. *varṇaka-vyāsaḥ*, *lit.* 'extension of description,' or 'detailed description,' so that it would be a contraction of *vaṇṇaa-vāse*.

[168] Text *go-kilañja*, explained by the comm. to be a large tray or basket made of bambū twigs and used for feeding cattle. It is now commonly called Hindī *ḍalā* or *ḍal'wā*, Marāṭhī *ḍāl* or *ḍāl'gē*, from *ḍāli* 'a branch' or 'twig.' The well-known Indian *ḍālī* or 'a present of fruit, sweatmeats, etc.' has its name from the large, flat wicker baskets (*ḍālī*) in which the presents are carried. The Skr. has *kiliñja* or *kiliñcha*, and the Marāṭhī *kilach* or *kilīch*, 'a straw, stick, narrow slip of wood.'

[169] Text *kabhalla*, Skr. *kapāla*, lit. 'the half of a water jar', 'the skull.'

[170] Text *uṭṭiyā*, on which see note 30 on page 16.

[171] *Lit.* 'pitcher-like head.' On the *ghaḍi* or *ghaḍa*, see note 30 on p. 16.

[172] I have translated this clause as explained by the comm., but I do not feel quite satisfied as to its correctness. The comm. explains *jhusirā* by *mahārandhrā*, feminine singular, 'having large orifices,'

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ing tawny hue, and of an aspect disgusting and hideous; its lips were pendant exactly like those of a camel; its teeth *in length*[173] looked like ploughshares;[174] its tongue was exactly like the pan of a winnowing sieve, disgusting and hideous to behold; its jaws *in length and crookedness* were fashioned like the handle of a plough,[175] and its cauldron-

and constructs it with *chullī*, making it to be the first portion of the whole compound. The use of such an inflected (feminine) form in a compound is an anomaly, and though, no doubt, Prākrit is capable of all sorts of grammatical irregularities, one would fain avoid it. Assuming the received text to be correct, I would propose to separate *jhusirā* from the compound and construct it (as nom. plur. masc. with *nāsā-puḍayā*. The interpretation of the comm. might be made to agree with this, if it be allowed to assume a clerical error in it and read *mahārandhre* instead of *mahārandhrā*. The word *jhusirā* is open to some doubt; the commentator himself seems to have been puzzled with it; he bestows very scant attention to it, contrary to his practice in all similar cases. The word cannot be traced in any of the Gauḍian languages, so far as known to me. There occurs, however, a word very much like it in Hemachandra's Deshīnāmamāla (verse 62, page 135, Pischel's edition), *jhūsaria* (var. lect. *jhūsia*), which is there explained to mean either 'huge, exceeding,' (*atyartham*) or 'pure, sound, good' (*svachchham*). I make little doubt but that we have here got the same word,—whichever may be the correct form of it,—and that the word itself is a synonym of Prākrit *mahalla* 'huge'; the meaning of the clause being: 'and his huge nasal apertures resembled in shape (those of) a pair of cooking-stoves.' It may be noted that in East Tirhut a *chūlh* or *chūlhī* is a fire-place with two orifices, while *kaulhā* or *ekaulhā* (contracted from *eka* and *chūlhā*) is a fire-place with one orifice (see Grierson § 1247).

[173] The points of comparison added in italics here and elsewhere are those given in the commentary.

[174] For a description and figure of the native Indian plough and its several parts, see Grierson, pp. 1-5, § 10.

[175] The word for 'handle' is uncertain. I have adopted the reading *kuḍāla* of MS. A, as it explains the two other readings *kuḍā* or

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like cheeks were hollow and sunken, and pale, hard and huge;[176] its shoulders resembled kettle-drums; its chest *in width* resembled the gate of a goodly town; its two arms *in bulkiness* were fashioned like *the shafts of* smelting furnaces; its two palms *in breadth and bulkiness* were fashioned like the slabs for grinding turmeric; the fingers of its

kuḍḍā and *kuddāla* as blundered alterations in two different directions. *Kuddāla* is a well-known word also in the Gauḍians, and means a 'hoe' or 'spade'; and is here clearly out of place. A word *kuḍāla* (or *kuḍā* or *kuḍḍā*) I have not elsewhere met with in Prākrit, nor is it found, so far as I am aware, in any of the Gauḍians. It would be, however, a legitimate derivative of the Sanskrit *kuṭa* 'crooked,' (Skr. *kuṭāla*, synonymous with *kuṭila*), and might be used as a name for the crooked handle of a plough. This is the meaning assigned to the word by the comm., which explains it as the 'bent part above the plough.' The description suits the handle of the native Indian plough; see the figure in Grierson, page 1. The common Bihārī word for the handle of the plough is *parihath* or *parihat*, see ibidem, § 7.

176 The comm. explains that the first two epithets refer to the resemblance of the cheeks to a cauldron. *Kaḍilla* 'cauldron' is explained to be 'a vessel for cooking rice gruel and other dishes.' The word does not occur in the Gauḍians; the nearest to it that does occur is Hindi *karāhā* or *karāhī*, Marāṭhī and Gujarātī *kaḍhā* or *kaḍhāī* or *kaḍhaī* (for *kaḍ'hā*, etc.), 'a cauldron' or 'boiler,' which is a vessel of a semispheroidal shape, of larger or smaller size (as indicated by the gender). The vernacular paraph., however, reads *kaḍahilā*, which would be a regular derivative from *kaḍāha* (Skr. *kaṭāha*); and it may be that this is the correct reading of the word instead of the one now found in the MSS. of the text. *Khaḍḍaṃ* is explained in the commentary by Skr. *garttākāra* 'having the shape of a hole;' it still exist in the Marāṭhī and Gujarātī *khāḍ* or *khaḍḍā* or *khaḍḍo*, 'a ditch, hole, cavity.' *Phuṭṭaṃ*, comm. *vidīrṇam*, signifies any breach, or deviation from the level, or symmetrical surface. *Pharusaṃ* is the Sanskrit *paruṣam*; the vernacular paraph. expresses its meaning by *kaṭhor* or *kaṭhin* 'hard.'

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hands *in length and bulkiness* were fashioned like the rollers[177] of grinding slabs; its nails were fashioned like the valves of oyster shells; the two nipples on its breast depended like a barber's pouch;[178] its belly was rotund like *the dome of* an iron smelting furnace; its navel *in depth* looked like the rice-water bowl *of a weaver*;[179] its penis *in length* was fashioned like the rope netting of a meat-safe;[180] its two testicles were fashioned like the sacks for holding yeast; its two thighs were fashioned like a pair of *shafts of* smelting furnaces; its knees were like the cluster of blossoms of the Ajjuṇa tree,

177 The object here referred to is the well-known *sil* or *sil'vaṭ*, one of the most necessary utensils of the Indian household. It is a flat stone slab, generally of an oblongish shape, on which turmeric and other condiments (for curry, etc.), are ground by means of a kind of stone roller, called *loṛhā*. See Grierson, §§ 626, 627. From the explanation in the comm., *mudgādi-dalana-shilā*, 'a stone for breaking pulses,' it would seem, curiously enough, as if Abhayadeva took the object to be the round grindingstone of the well-known Indian handmill, called the *chak'rī* or *chakkī*; see Grierson, § 619, and the accompanying figurement.

178 Comm., "in which he carries his tools, the nail-parer, razor, etc."

179 On this object see Grierson, § 362 A, page 73. The cold rice water, with which the threads of the warp are moistened, is there called *mā̃ṛ*; but the name of the bowl in which the water is kept is not mentioned.

180 Text *sikkaga*, Skr. *shikvaka* according to the comm., or rather Skr. *shikyaka* (from Skr. *shikvan* or *shikya*). It is 'the rope, or sling, or netting of ropes by means of which vessels containing food are suspended in the air for the sake of protection' (comm.). It is now called *sīkā* or *sīkā* or *sīk* or *sik'har* (Grierson, §§ 648, 651, 657). The word *netta* in the sense in which it is here used, would seem to be a slang expression, for the comm. explains that it properly means 'the rope with which the churning stick is made to revolve.' In this sense it is still commonly used in Bihār (see Grierson, § 145). The slang meaning is not noted in any dictionary, Sanskrit or other, known to me.

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excessively tortuous, and of an aspect disgusting and hideous; its shanks were lean[181] and covered with hair; its two feet were fashioned like *large* grinding slabs; the toes of its feet were fashioned like the rollers of *large* grinding slabs; and its nails were fashioned like the valves of an oyster shell.

95. The knees *of this deva as he approached* were shaking and quaking,[182] his eyebrows were knit and bent, his tongue[183] was protruding from his widely opened mouth,[184] *he wore* a chaplet made of lizards; a garland of rats hung round him by way of adornment; *he wore* earrings made of mungooses, and a scarf made of serpents; he slapped his hands on his arms, and roared, and laughed aloud in a horrible manner; he was covered with various sorts of hair of five colours;

181 Text *karakaḍīo*, which the comm. explains by Skr. *kaṭhine* 'hard,' or *nirmāṃse* 'fleshless."

182 Text *laḍaha-maḍaha*, an imitative and alliterative phrase, imitative of the manner and sound of the shaking or dangling of any rickety or hanging object. In the Gauḍians the phrase occurs in the contracted form *laṛ'baṛ'* (Hindī) and *laṭ'paṭ* or *laḍ'baḍ* or *laḍ'phaḍ* (Marāṭhī). The comm. says that '*laḍaha*' is the name of a piece of wood which is placed at the back of country carts for the purpose of propping up its front part. The two-wheeled Indian country cart, from the manner of its build (see the figure in Grierson's Bihār Peasant Life), has, especially when laden, its centre of gravity in its posterior portion. So long as the bullocks are yoked to it, its balance is preserved. When they are unyoked, the anterior portion at once tilts up. In order to prevent its doing so, a short, thick piece of wood is placed as a prop under its back part. This piece of wood is tied to the back of the cart by a bit of rope, and is carried, dangling behind, with the cart as it moves along. It may be noted that *laṛ'hiyā* (लड़्हिया or less correctly, *laṛhiyā* लढ़िया) is still a name of the light country cart in Bihār (see Grierson, § 201).

183 Text *aggajīha*, lit. the forepart, or tip, of the tongue.

184 Text *vayaṇa-vivara*, lit. the opening of the face.

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and *thus* brandishing a large sword, *which was* sharp as a razor and of the dark blue lustre of a lotus or a buffalo's horn or indigo or the blossom of flax, he went to where Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, was in his posaha-house; and having gone there, he furiously, angrily, wrathfully, fiercely and savagely spoke thus to Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa: "O ho, Kāmadeva, thou servant of the Samaṇa, who desirest what no one desires,[185] who art marked out for a miserable end, who wast inauspiciously born on a holy chaüddasī day,[186] who art abandoned of propriety, fortune, happiness[187] and renown, who longest after truth, righteousness, heaven and salvation, and hankerest after them, and thirstest after them, truly *I tell thee*, though[188]

[185] *I. e.*, as the vernacular paraph. explains, 'who desirest death.'

[186] Text *hīṇa-puṇṇa-chāuddasiyā*, lit., as the comm. explains it, 'he at the time of whose birth a meritorious fourteenth day is still incomplete,' i. e., 'who is born on such a day.' The *chaüddasī* or fourteenth day of each half-month is one of the four posaha or fast-days which fall on the days of the full moon, the new moon, and the eighth and fourteenth of each half-month. See note 87, also Bhag., p. 219. Birth on such a day desecrates it, and is therefore inauspicious.

[187] The MSS. of the text give two different readings. Some have *dhii*, Skr. *dhṛiti*, which I have adopted on the authority of the commentary; others have *dhi*, Skr. *dhī*. The latter would mean 'intelligence' or 'common sense,' and has the support of the vernacular paraph. which renders it by *buddhi*.

[188] Text *jaṃ* 'though.' MSS. D and E omit it, whereby the sentence assumes a somewhat less offensive meaning: 'it does not become thee to practise austerities, therefore give them up, on pain of destruction.' According to the MSS. ABCF which read *jaṃ*, the deva admits that it is Kāmadeva's duty to practise austerities, and for that very reason insists on his abstaining from them on pain of destruction. This refinement of cruelty, however, is in accord with the character of the deva, and therefore I have adopted the reading of the passage with *jaṃ*.

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it does not become thee, O beloved of the devas, to depart from *the practice of* the virtues, duties, restraints, renunciations, and posaha abstinences, or to swerve from it, or to interrupt it, or to suspend it, or to relinquish it, or to abandon it, yet if thou dost not this day forsake and interrupt *thy practice of* the virtues and (*as above,* down to) posaha abstinences, then I shall this day, with this sword of dark blue lustre (*and so forth,* as above), cut thee into small pieces, so that agonised by the intolerable force of thy agonies,[189] O beloved of the devas, thou shalt, even before thy time, be deprived of thy life."

96. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, being thus spoken to by the deva in the form of the pisāya, showed no fear, dread, alarm,[190] agitation, emotion, or perturbation, *but* remained silent and engaged in the meditation of the Law.

97. Then that deva in the form of the pisāya, observing that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (*as above,* § 96, down to) occupied in the meditation of the Law, spoke to him thus for a second and a third time: "O

189 Text *aṭṭa-duhaṭṭa-vas'-aṭṭe.* The comm. gives two alternative explanations, which, however, practically yield the same sense. The phrase may be taken as a single compound: 'agonised (Skr. *ārta*) by the intolerable force (Skr. *durghata-vasha*) of agonies (Skr. *ārta*); or it may be taken as a double compound: 'agonised by the pain (Skr. *duḥkh'-ārta*) of agonies (Skr. *ārta*), and mortified (Skr. *ārta*) by *the consciousness of* the power of earthly objects (Skr. *vasha, i. e., viṣaya-vasha*) *over one's self.* The comm. explains *aṭṭa* (Skr. *ārta*) to be a technical term, intending the so-called *aṭṭajjhāna* (Skr. *ārta-dhyāna*), 'the discernment' or 'experience of distress as connected with earthly objects.' See Ind. Stud., vol. xvi, p. 428 and vol. xvii, p. 12.

190 Text *aṇuvvigge,* Skr. *anudvignaḥ.* The MSS. spell this word almost uniformly, though wrongly, with a single *v.* For other examples of this peculiarity, see note 152, page 55.

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ho, Kāmadeva, thou servant of the Samaṇa, who desirest what no one desires, if thou dost not this day (*as above*, § 95, down to), thou shalt be deprived *of thy life*."

98. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, being thus spoken to by that deva for a second and a third time, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained occupied in the meditation of the Law.

99. Then that deva in the form of the pisāya, observing that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear[191] (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained *engaged in the meditation of the Law*, grew furious, etc., (*as in* § 95), and with an angry scowl on his face,[192] *proceeded to* cut into pieces[193] Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, with his sword of dark blue lustre (*and so forth*, as above, § 95).

100. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, bore (*and so forth*, down to) suffered[194] that fiery (*and so forth*, down to) insufferable torment with perfect composure.

[191] Text *āsuratte*; the correct form of this word is uncertain. The MSS. vary between *āsurutte* and *āsuratte*, though the former is perhaps the more usual spelling. Its Skr. equivalent is still more doubtful. Weber (Bhag., p. 214) suggests a derivation from the vedic root *sūrksh*. Perhaps it is a contracted compound of *asūyā* and *rakta*, lit. 'excited with anger,' or of *āsava* and *rakta*, 'affected by excitement,' or of *āshu* and *rakta* 'quickly excited.' In that case the correct spelling would be *āsuratte*, and the form *āsurutte* might be due to assimilation.

[192] Lit., 'contracting on his forehead a frown of three wrinkles.'

[193] Text *khaṇḍā-khaṇḍiṃ* lit. 'piece upon piece;' a similar compound is Skr. *nakhā-nakhi*, 'nail upon nail.'—I have translated 'proceeded to cut into pieces' in order to tone down the expression. The text simply says, 'he cut into pieces.' It is clear, however, from what follows, that the deva did not actually carry out his threat, but only made a feint to do so. The statements in §§ 105 and 110 must be understood similarly.

[194] Text *dur-ahiyāsaṃ*, Skr. *dur-adhivāsam*, 'difficult to be borne;'

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101. Then that deva, in the form of the pisāya, observing that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained engaged in the meditation of the law, and seeing that he was not able to cause Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, to depart from, or to swerve from, or to transgress against the doctrine of the Nigganṭha, being now weary, tired, and disappointed *with his efforts*, slowly and gradually retired, and thus departed from the posaha-house. Having done so he laid aside his celestial pisāya form, and then exchanged it for the form of a huge celestial elephant. *This form was* duly furnished with all the seven limbs,[195] in perfect condition,[196] and *alto-*

similarly *ahiyāsei*, Skr. *adhivāsayati*, 'he bears or suffers.' See the remarks in the Index to Ov., p. 100. The derivation from the root *adhi-vas* is confirmed by the reading of MSS. DE *ahivāsei*.

[195] Text *sattanga-paiṭṭhiyaṃ*, Skr. *saptānga-pratiṣṭhitam*. In translating this phrase I have followed the comm., which explains it as a bahuvrīhi compound: 'that which has its seven limbs fixed in their proper places' (*bhūmau lagnāni angāni*). The position of a participle in *ta* after the noun qualified by it, is permitted in a bahuvrīhi compound, even by Pāṇini. The comm. explains the 'seven limbs' to be the four feet, the trunk, the tail, and the penis. This seems a very arbitrary enumeration; why the ears and other limbs should be omitted, is not apparent. My friend, Pandit Hara Prasāda Shāstrī suggests to me an explanation which seems more appropriate. In the Raghuvaṃsa, 4th sarga, 23rd shloka, it is said of elephants that they emit their ichor in a sevenfold way. This is explained by the commentator, Mallinātha, on the authority of Pālakāvya, to refer to the two cavities of the trunk, the two temples, the penis, and the two eyes. From these seven parts of the body the ichor is said to be produced. And as the elephant's ichor is a favourite subject of allusion, he may well take his name *saptānga* from a fact connected with it. At all events the enumeration would not be open to the objection of arbitrariness.

[196] *I. e.*, 'well covered with flesh,' comm.

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gether well made; in front it was lofty, and behind like a boar;[197] it had a belly like that of a goat and not protuberant,[198] it had a trunk and underlip hanging down like those of Lambodara,[199] it had tusks as white and pure as the budding blossoms of the jasmine and fixed in their bases *as in cases* of gold;[200] it had the fore-part of its trunk beautifully curved like a strongly bent bow; it had feet full-round[201] like a tortoise; it had twenty nails, and a tail

197 I have adopted the reading *vārāhaṃ* of the MSS. BF, which is much simpler than the reading *varāhaṃ* of the MSS. ADE. The latter, however, was accepted by Abhayadeva, who in his comm. explains the form as a neuter, the change of gender (from the masc. in Skr.) being due to the usages of Prākrit. This explanation is hardly needed, for *varāhaṃ*, as required by the context, would be the accusative singular of the masc. *varāhaḥ* in agreement with *hatthirūvaṃ viüvvaï*. The phrase would mean 'he assumed an elephant form (*which was*) behind a boar,' meaning of course, 'which looked like a boar.' But the expression sounds awkward, and *vārāhaṃ* 'boarish,' 'boar-like' is clearly the better reading.

198 Text *a-lamba-kuchchhiṃ*, Skr. *a-lamba-kukṣi*, lit., 'having a belly which is not potuberant' or 'hanging down.' The commentary explains this *balavattvena* 'by its strength' or 'robustness.' But there is, in the phrase, clearly a reference to the Lambodara or 'pot-bellied one' of the succeeding phrase.

199 *Lit.*, 'the pot-bellied one,' *i. e.*, Gaṇapati (comm.) or Gaṇesha, the pot-bellied, elephant-headed offspring of Pārvatī, the divinity of wisdom and success.

200 Text *kañchaṇa-kosī*, Skr. *kāñchaṇa-koshī*. The comm. explains *koshī* by *pratimā*, which the Skr. dictionaries explain to mean *gaja-danta-bandha*, 'the muscular base in which an elephant's tusks are set.' *Koshī* means properly 'a sheath,' 'case,' and this, of course, is a natural description of the base of the tusks. As an elephant grows older, the skin around the base of the tusks becomes discoloured and takes a more or less pale, yellowish shade. Hence it is described as a 'golden case.'

201 Text *paḍipuṇṇa*, Skr. *pratipūrṇa*. The meaning of this ex-

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neat[202] and of a proper size.

pression can be clearly seen from the following phrase, occurring in Ov. § 16 (p. 29) *uḍuvaï-paḍipuṇṇa-soma-vayaṇe*, *lit.*, 'a face pleasing and full-round like the moon,' *i. e.*, 'pleasing like the full moon,' on account of its rotundity or plumpness. The Skr. comm. to Ov. § 16 (Calcutta print, p. 45) says: *iha prākṛitatvāt pratipūrṇ'oḍupati-saumya-vadanam iti dṛishyate*, *i. e.*, 'the phrase *uḍuvaï-paḍipuṇṇa* is to be understood, according to Prākrit usage, to be transposed for *paḍipuṇṇa-uḍuvaï*.' This may show how the word *paḍipuṇṇa*' came to acquire the meaning of 'full-round,' 'circular,' 'rotund. Similarly *vaṭṭa-paḍipuṇṇa-kaṇṇa* 'an ear full-round like a circle' occurs in Kap., Appendix, § 2.

202 Text *allīṇa-pamāṇajutta*, Skr. *ālīna-pramāṇayukta*. In translating this phrase I have followed the comm. to Ov. § 16 (Calcutta print, p. 45). The comm. here says only *kaṇṭhyam*, which means that the interpretation of the phrase is 'known by memory,' *i. e.*, that it is given elsewhere and should be remembered thence. The reference is probably to Abhayadeva's own comm. to the Ovavāiya Sutta. In this comm., on § 16, *allīṇa* is explained by *na tu ṭappara*. The latter is properly a vernacular word. It still occurs in Hindī and Marāṭhī in the form *ṭāpar* or *ṭāp'rā*, which means 'a kind of boat,' or 'a kind of hood;' the latter is made by gathering up one end of a country-blanket so as to form a hood, and is used, especially by the poorer classes, as a cloak in rainy weather, covering the head and hanging down nearly to the heels. The word signifies, therefore, something large and ungainly; and in this sense it is in the commentary to § 94, applied to the ears of the pisāya. The comm. implies that the word *allīṇa* has an opposite signification; it must mean, therefore, something which is 'pleasing through simplicity and smallness,' *i. e.*, 'neat.' This is borne out by the paraph. which gives here *sundar* 'neat,' and in Ov. § 16, *atisundar* 'very neat.' The word *pamāṇajutta* the comm., to Ov. § 16, explains by *svapramāṇopeta*, 'possessing its proper size.' This agrees very well with the meaning 'neat' of *allīṇa*. In Ov. § 16 the phrase is used with reference to the ears of Mahāvīra; they are said to be 'neat,' *i. e.*, 'not of the size of a boat or blanket-hood, but of a proper size.' The same is said here of the

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102. The form of such a celestial elephant, infuriated, roaring like a thunder-cloud and *moving* with a speed surpassing the wind or the mind, he assumed, and then went to where Kāmadeva was in his posaha-house; and having gone there, he spoke thus to Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa: "O ho, Kāmadeva, thou servant of the Samaṇa (*and so forth,* speaking exactly as before, § 95, down to) *if* thou dost not interrupt *thy religious practices,* then I shall this day seize thee with my trunk, and carry thee out of thy posaha-house; and having done so, I shall toss thee high up into the air, and then receive thee on my sharp long[203] tusks, and then *dropping thee* on the ground, I shall trample thee three times under my feet, so that agonised by the intolerable force of thy agonies thou shalt, even before thy time,[204] be deprived of thy life."

elephant's tail, which, as well-known, is a comparatively small object. The phrase as applied to Mahāvīra's ears almost looks as if it were an oblique allusion to the traditionally pendent ears of Buddha.—The original meaning of *allīṇa* is 'closely adhering' or 'closely approaching,' see Nām. 180 where it is explained by *uvagaya* (Skr. *upagata*) and *uvasappiya* (Skr. **upasarpita*, *upasṛipta*). This is adopted by Dr. Leumann, see Index to Ov., p. 98. The expression would not be inappropriate, both with regard to the human ear and the elephant's tail; the latter animal ordinarily holds his tail depending close to the body. But I prefer the traditional meaning which seems more suitable to the occasion, and which, being an idiomatic and not an obviously derivative one, deserves consideration on that account.—The word *allīṇa*, it may be added, occurs also in another peculiar sense, 'quiet, abstracted,' so as to seem dead to life or the external world (explained by Skr. *guptendriya*). In this sense it is found, *e. g.*, in Kap. §§ 92, 110, Bhag., p. 302.

203 Lit. 'pestle-like.'

204 Evidently a sarcastic allusion of the deva's to the *kālamāsa*, 'the appointed time,' within which Kāmadeva intended to effect his religious suicide. See the remarks in note 161.

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103. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, being thus spoken to by that deva in the form of the elephant, showed no fear (*as above*, § 92, down to) remained *engaged in the meditation of the Law.*

104. Then that deva in the form of the elephant, observing that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) occupied *in the meditation of the Law*, spoke thus for a second and a third time to Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa: "O ho, Kāmadeva," (*and so forth*, exactly as before, and he, *Kāmadeva*, too, *as before*) remained *engaged in meditation of the Law.*

105. Then that deva in the form of the elephant, observing that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samana, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained *engaged in the meditation of the Law*, grew furious, etc. (*as in* § 95), and seized Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samana, with his trunk, and then tossing him high up into the air, received him on his sharp long tusks, and then *dropping him* on the ground, he trampled him three times under his feet.

106. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, bore (*and so forth*, down to) that fiery *torment with perfect composure.*

107. Then that deva in the form of the elephant, seeing that he was not able to cause Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, (*as above*, § 101, down to) slowly and gradually retired, and thus departed from the posaha-house. Having done so, he laid aside his celestial[205] elephant form, and then

[205] Text *divvaṃ*. The meaning of this term here and elsewhere is shown by its use in the phrase *divva-māṇusa-tirikkhajoṇie uvasagge*, Skr. *daiva-mānusha-tiryagyonikān upasargān*, 'temptations arising from devas or men or animals' (in § 119). It is a derivative of *deva*, just as *māṇusa* from *manusa*; and a shortened form of *devva* (Skr. *daiva*, see Hem. I, 153), like *sijjā* 'bed, for *sejjā* (see § 58), and others. It means 'related to the devas' or 'the devaloka.' The

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exchanged it for the form of a huge, celestial serpent. *This form was* furnished with a powerful venom, a virulent venom, a deadly venom;[206] it had a huge body, black as ink or as a rat; it was full of rage and venomous looks; it was of a lustre like a mass of heaped up collyrium; it had eyes red and bloodshot, and a double tipped tongue quickly moving to and fro; it looked, *in blackness and length*, like the single braid of hair of the *goddess* Earth; and it was dexterous at making its hood to swell large and stiff bending over like a top-knot in an exceedingly beautiful way.

108. The form of *such* a serpent, making a noise like the blowing of the bellows of a blacksmith, and exhibiting a wrath fierce, intense and unbounded, he assumed, and then went to where Kāmadeva was in his posaha-house; and having gone there, he spoke thus to Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa: "O ho, Kāmadeva, thou servant of the Samaṇa, (*as before*, § 95, down to) *if thou dost not interrupt thy religious practices*, then I shall even this day, creeping[207] forward, mount on thy body; and having done so, I shall with my hinder part three times encircle thy neck, and then with my sharp venom-bearing fangs I shall strike thee even in

attibute *divva* indicates that the elephant was not an ordinary, earthly one, but such as exist in the devaloka, a celestial one. Perhaps 'supernatural' would be a better translation of *divva* applied to the pisāya, the elephant and the serpent.

[206] Instead of the reading *chaṇḍavisaṃ ghoravisaṃ*, which I have adopted into the text from the commentary, all the MSS. read *diṭṭhīvisaṃ*, Skr. *dṛiṣṭi-viṣaṃ*. The latter word is used in the commentary, to explain the expression *nayaṇa-visa* in the succeeding phrase *nayaṇa-visa-rosa-puṇṇaṃ*, 'full of rage and venomous looks.' I prefer the reading of the commentary as being more in agreement with the usual style of Jain phraseology.

[207] Text *sarasarassa*, Skr. *sarsarasya*; an imitative word, still used in the Gauḍians, in indicating the manner and sound of the creeping movement of a snake.

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thy breast, so that agonised by the intolerable force of thy agonies thou shalt, even before thy time, be deprived of thy life."

109. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, being thus spoken to by the deva in the form of the serpent, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained engaged *in the meditation of the Law.* (He too spoke, *similarly as in* § 97, for a second and a third time; and Kāmadeva[203] too, *as above*, § 98, down to) remained engaged *in the meditation of the Law.*

110. Then that deva in the form of the serpent, observing that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained engaged *in the meditation of the Law*, grew furious, etc., (*as in* § 95), and creeping forward mounted on the body of Kāmadeva; and having done so, he encircled his neck three times with his hinder part, and then struck him even in his breast with his sharp venom-bearing fangs.

111. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa bore (*and so forth*, § 100, down to) that fiery[209] *torment with perfect composure.*

[203] MSS. AB read *Kāmadeve vi*, as if it were part of the narrative. But the reading of MSS. DE is undoubtedly correct, as the words are part of the rubrical direction, corresponding to the preceding *so vi*. As the latter words direct a repetition of the substance of § 97, so do the former with regard to § 98. The reading of MS. F *Kāmadevā samoṇovāsayā*, 'O Kāmadeva, thou servant of the Samaṇa,' is an entirely misplaced quotation from § 97.

[209] Text *ujjalaṃ*, Skr. *ujjvalām*. The commentary explains this to mean *vipakṣa-leshenā'py akalankitām*, 'unsullied by the least bit of opposition.' It takes, therefore, the word in the metaphorical sense of 'brilliant,' the brilliance of the suffering consisting in the meekness with which it is borne. This seems a rather forced interpretation, nor does it well accord with the other expressions with which the character of the torment is described. The object of all

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112. Then that deva in the form of the serpent, observing that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) and seeing that he was not able to cause Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, to depart from, or to swerve from, or to transgress against the doctrine of the Nigganṭha, being now weary, etc. (*as in* § 101), slowly and gradually retired, and thus departed from the posaha-house. Having done so, he laid aside his celestial serpent form, and then exchanged it for the form of a huge celestial deva. *This form* had its breast adorned with a necklace (*and so forth*, down to) cast its radiance and splendour over *all* the ten quarters, and was magnificent, beautiful, charming, and well-proportioned.

113. The form of *such* a celestial deva he assumed; and having done so, he entered the posaha-house of Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, and then taking his stand in mid air and decked out in five-coloured garments fringed with small bells, he spoke thus to Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa: "O ho, Kāmadeva, thou servant of the Samaṇa, happy art thou, O beloved of the devas, and satisfied,[210] successful, and fortunate,[211] thou hast well attained, O beloved ot the devas, the true object of living in the

these expressions is clearly the same, to describe the intensity of the suffering. It is more natural, therefore, to take *ujjala* in its non-metaphorical sense of 'fiery,' 'burning like fire,' 'very painful.'

[210] Text *sampuṇṇe*, Skr. *saṃpūrṇaḥ*, meaning (as explained by Abhayadeva in his comm. to Nāy. § 60, Calcutta print, p. 101) *ādeyavastubhiḥ paripūrṇaḥ*, 'filled with everything that one wishes to receive.' The reading of MSS. AB *sapuṇṇe*, if correct, would represent Skr. *sa-puṇyaḥ* 'full of merit'.

[211] Text *kaya-lakkhaṇe*, Skr. *kṛita-lakshaṇa*; comm. to Nāy. § 60, *kṛita-phalavach-chharīra-lakshaṇaḥ*, *i. e.*, 'one in whose case the promises of the lucky marks of his body have come true,' referring to the well-known Indian superstition about the luckiness or unluckiness of certain marks on the body.

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condition of human existence; for that thou hast attained, acquired and achieved such a perfect hold on the doctrine of the Niggantha.[212] Truly, O beloved of the devas, Sakka, the lord of the devas, the prince of the devas (*and so forth, down to*),[213] *sitting* on his Sakka-named throne, in the midst of eighty-four thousands of his peers[214] (*and so forth, down to*) and of many other male and female devas, has thus said: (etc.): "“Truly, O devas,[215] in the continent of Jambū, in

[212] MSS. DE here present an entirely different reading, the exact construction of which is not without obscurity. They have *nigganthāo pāvayaṇāo Meru vva paḍivattī laddhā*, etc., which may be translated; 'for that thou hast attained through the doctrine of the Nigantha a firmness as *great as that of* Mount Meru.'

[213] The insertion here, by the MSS., of *sayakkaū* or *sayakkaū sahassakkhe* is out of place; for a reference to the full formula given in the commentary (and in Kap. § 18) shows that those terms do not begin, but stand in the middle of the formula, the whole of which is covered by the rubric *jāva*.

[214] Text *sāmāṇiya*, Skr. *sāmānika*. The devas are divided into four classes, these again into subdivisions, each with a chief deva at its head. The highest subdivision of each class comprises the *sāmāṇiya* devas who are equal to their chief in length of life, majesty, etc. See the commentary in Kap., p. 101, note 14. On the deva classes see Bhag., pp. 210 ff., 439.

[215] Print E reads *devā°*, thus indicating it to be an abbreviation of *devāṇuppiyā*. MS. F reads in full *devāṇuppiyā* 'O beloved of the devas.' MSS. A, B, D have only *devā*, 'O devas.' Of course, the latter might also be a mere abbreviation of *devāṇuppiyā*; and there is no doubt that this is the usual view. Such a mode of address, *devāṇuppiyā*, 'O beloved of the devas,' however, as used to one another by the devas themselves, has a very incongruous sound. I am disposed to think, that here, and in similar connections, *devā* is not to be taken as, and is not meant to be, an abbreviation of *devāṇuppiyā*; and that its expansion into the latter word in such cases is simply due to the common, thoughtless pedantary of reciters and scribes, who were accustomed to that favourite mode of address among Jains. Regarding it, see Bhag., p. 188.

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the country of Bhāraha,[216] in the town of Champā, Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, in his posaha-house, keeping the posaha abstinences, practicing continence (*and so forth*, down to) abiding on his bed of dubbha grass, is living in conformity with the teachings of the Law which he has received in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra. Truly, no deva, nor dānava, (*and so forth*, down to) nor gandhavva, is able to cause him to depart from, or to swerve from, or to transgress against the doctrine of the Niggantha."" Then I, not putting faith in this declaration of Sakka, the lord and prince of the devas, came quickly hither.[217] Ah! now, beloved of the devas, thou hast *indeed* attained, (etc.), success, (etc.). Now I see, O beloved of the devas, that thou hadst achieved (*and so forth*, down to) success. Now I ask pardon, O beloved of the devas; may the beloved of the devas pardon me; to pardon befits the beloved of the devas;[218] I will

[216] Text *Bhārahe vāse*, Skr. *Bhārate varṣe*, or *Bhāratavarṣe*, the well-known name of India. On the Prākrit form see Hem. I, 214.

[217] Text *ihaṃ havvam āgae;* MS. A has *iha ha°*. It has been said that *ihaṃ* is used before vowels, but *iha* before consonants (see Index to Ov.). But this rule is certainly not supported by the evidence of the MSS. According to my experience, at least, the use of the two forms seems to be altogether arbitrary, even in the best MSS. The case is the same with other words, *e. g.*, *mama* and *mamaṃ* 'of me.' Theoretical proprieties may speak for the rule; but the question, after all, is one of fact.

[218] Text *khamantu majjha, de.*, *khantum aruhanti devāṇuppiyā*, *Skr. kṣamantu mama, de.*, *kṣantum arhanti devānupriyāḥ*. The MSS. readings vary greatly, and the phrase is not explained in the commentary. I have adopted substantially the reading of MS. H. The Skr. root *arh* becomes in Pr. *araha* or *ariha* or *aruha*. Note the change from the second pers. sing. to the respectful third pers. plur. in the request for pardon. A similar phrase occurs in Nāy. (Calcutta ed.), p. 773.

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never again be *guilty of* doing *wrong to thee*."[219] So saying he fell at his feet, and joining the palms of his hands in a suppliant manner,[220] he again and again asked pardon for his

[219] Text *nāiṃ bhujjō karaṇayāe*, Skr. *nāiṃ bhūyaḥ karaṇatāyāṃ*, scl. *pravartiṣye*, *lit.* 'I will not engage in doing it again' (comm.) On *nāiṃ* or *ṇāiṃ* see Hem. II, 190.

[220] Text *pañjaliuḍe*, Skr. *prāñjaliputaḥ*. MS. A reads *pañjaliyaḍe*, Skr. *prāñjalikṛitaḥ*. The latter reading also occurs in the form *pañjalikaḍe* (see *Ov.* §§ 38, 55). There can be no doubt but that Malayagiri who in his comm. to the Sūryaprajñapti transcribes it with Skr. *prāñjalikṛitaḥ* had before him the reading *pañjaliyaḍe* (not *pañjaliuḍe*). The word is commonly explained as equivalent to Skr. *kṛita-prāñjaliḥ*, (*e. g.*, in comm. to Nāy. § 7); because participles in *ta*, when used in bahuvrīhi compounds, may, especially in Prākrit, be optionally placed before or after the qualified noun. The action described consists, not in raising the flatly joined palms to the forehead (as said in Bhag., p. 317), but in holding them in front of the breast. The words *lalāṭa-taṭa-ghaṭitatvena* (Bhag., p. 319) are intended as an explanation of *viṇaeṇaṃ* 'the humble action of touching with one's forehead the feet of a superior.' The same word, however, is explained differently by Abhayadeva in his comm. to Nāy., § 7, where *viṇaeṇaṃ* is said to mean *ukta-lakshaṇena* 'by mentioning the lucky marks,' *i. e.*, by courteous compliments. This act of *viṇaya* or 'prostration' is expressed in the present case by the word *pāya-vaḍie* 'falling at his feet.' The ceremony of obeisance here described is a well-known one in India, constantly performed, under certain circumstances, by lower caste men to Brāhmans. The inferior prostrates himself before the superior, touching the latter's feet with his forehead; he then rises and stands before him with his hands joined palm to palm and held before his breast. The modern term for the latter gesture is *hāth joṛī* 'joining hands' or *donū hāth joṛī* 'joining both hands.' There is another gesture also termed *pañjali-uḍa*, or *pañjali-yaḍa*, which consists in placing the hands side by side, not palm to palm, but the palms turned upwards and slightly hollowed, and holding them in this position before the breast. This

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misconduct,[221] and having obtained it, he returned to the place whence he had come.

114. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, proceeded with the practice of his standard *of an uvāsaga* (*see* § 70), saying that now he was free from all persecutions.[222]

115. At that time and at that period the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra (*and so forth*, down to) was staying there.

attitude is that of giving a blessing, and is adopted by the superior to the inferior; while the other attitude is that of supplication or obeisance to a superior.

221 *Lit.*, 'for that matter.'

222 Text *nir-uvasaggaṃ*, Skr. *nir-upasargam*, 'without *uvasagga*.' The *uvasagga*, Skr. *upasarga* (see § 118) are 'persecutions' viewed as spiritual temptations. These persecutions may proceed from three different sources, either from devas, or men, or animials (see § 119). They are often mentioned together with the *parīsaha* (Skr. *parīṣaha* or *pariṣaha*) the common 'trials' of life, of which twenty-two are always enumerated, such as hunger, thirst, etc. Thus in Ov. §§ 87, 116, *bāvīṣaṃ parīsahovassagā* are spoken of, which the comm. explains by *parīṣahāḥ kṣudhādayo dvāviṃshatiḥ, upasargā divyādayaḥ, i. e.*, 'twenty-two trials, such as hunger, etc., and persecutions from devas, etc.' (Calcutta print, p. 285), or as the vernacular paraph. has it, *parīsah* 22 *khudhā-pipāsā'dik, upasarg nar tiryañch devatā nā kīdhā, i. e*, 'trials 22, such as hunger, thirst, etc., and persecutions inflicted by men, animals, or devas' (ib., p. 311). In his comm. on the Antakṛiddashā, Abhayadeva explains the same phrase thus: *dvāviṃshatiḥ parīṣahāḥ, upasargāsh cha ṣoḍasha, i. e.*, 'twenty-two trials and sixteen persecutions' (MS. f, leave 28*a*). From this it would appear that the Jains believed in sixteen kinds of 'persecutions.' The *parīsaha*, however, are also mentioned by themselves; *e.g.*, in Nāy., § 4, *jiya-parīsahe*, 'one who has overcome the twenty-two trials.' *Parīsaha* properly means 'patience,' and as such it is one of the exercises of *saṃvara* (see Wilson, p. 311). It then comes to mean an 'object of patience.'

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116. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, having been informed of this news, reflected thus: "Truly the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, (*as above*, down to) is staying here; so it is truly better for me to *go and* praise and worship the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and returning thence to proceed with the practice of my posaha abstinences." Having thus reflected, he put on a fine state dress, adorned his person with a small number of costly jewels, and then, surrounded by a dense circle of attendant people, he came out of his own house. Having done so, he walked right through the midst of the town of Champā, and then *proceeded* to the Puṇṇabhadda cheïya, and (*acting in all respects* like Sankha, down to) stood waiting *on the Samaṇa.*

117. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, *expounded the Law* to Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, and to that *right great company which had come with him* (*as above*, § 11, down to *where it is said that*) the sermon[223] was finished.

118. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, addressing[224] Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, spoke to him thus:

[223] The commentary here explains that the sermon referred to is that given in Ov. §§ 56, 57. The whole of it is quoted, and some portion of it commented on in the commentary. The comments given here differ slightly from those given in the comm. to the paragraphs of the Ovavāiya Sutta. The same sermon, of course, is to be supplied in Lecture I, § 11. If the reading *dhammakahāe* of MSS. D and E be accepted in § 11, it is not to be taken as part of the rubrical direction, but of the narrative, and must then be constructed, as the ablative singular, with the following *paḍigayā*, 'from (*i. e.*, after listening to) the sermon of the Law, the congregation returned'; though in that case one would rather expect the ablative form *dhammakahāo*.

[224] *Lit.*, "saying: O Kāmadeva!" See note 105.

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"Surely Kāmadeva, at the time of the midnight hour, a certain deva appeared before thee. Then that deva assumed the form of a huge celestial pisāya, and then furiously, (etc., *as in* § 95) brandishing a large sword of dark blue luster (*and so forth*, as above, § 95), he spoke to thee thus: ""O ho, Kāmadeva (*as above*, § 95, down to) thou shalt be deprived of thy life."" Now thou, being thus spoken to by that deva, showedst no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remainedst *engaged in the meditation of the Law.* (Exactly in the same way, without any detailed description, the two[225] other persecutions should also be repeated, down to *where it is said*, § 113, *that* the deva returned.) Surely, Kāmadeva, this account is correct?"

Kāmadeva replied: "yes, it is."

119. Then turning to his venerable companions,[226] the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, addressed the many male and female Niggantha ascetics[227] *who were with him*, and spoke to them thus: "Surely, Venerable Companions, if those servants of the Samaṇa, who are householders, living in the midst of householders,[228] bear (*and so forth*, down to) suffer

[225] The text has *tiṇṇi* 'three,' according to the Indian habit in enumerations or calculations to include the initial and final item. There were altogether three temptations. The first, in the form of the pisāya, is briefly recounted; and the direction is to treat the remaining two, those in the forms of the elephant and the serpent, in the same way.

[226] *Lit.*, 'saying: O venerable ones;' see note 105.

[227] See note 18. The term as applied to Mahāvīra's followers is generally sanskritised *nirgrantha*, as applied to Mahāvīra himself. But perhaps it would be more proper to sanskritise it *nairgrantha* and *nairgranthī* 'a male or female follower of the Nirgrantha,' like *bauddha* and *jaina* 'the followers of Buddha and Jina.' The phrase *niggantham pāvayaṇam* is always sanscritised *nairgrantham pravachanam* 'the doctrine of the Nirgrantha.'

[228] *gihi-majjhā;* so also in § 83 and elsewhere. The commentary

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with perfect composure persecutions proceeding from devas, men and animals, then much more,[229] Venerable Companions, must the Nigganṭha ascetics who are students of the sacred collection[230] of the twelve Angas,[231] are able to bear (*and so forth*, down to) suffer with perfect composure the persecutions proceeding from devas, men and animals."

120. Then those many male and female Nigganṭha ascetics, saying "so it is," reverently assented to that opinion of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra.

to § 83 reads *giha-majjhā*, which reading I have followed in my translation of that paragraph. The common reading of the text, however, on reconsideration, appears to me preferable. The point to be expressed is, not that the person continues to live in his house or in a house, but that he continues to be a member of society.

229 Text *puṇāiṃ* 'a fortiori,' 'with much more reason.'

230 Text *gaṇi-piḍaga*, lit., 'basket of the Gaṇī or 'disciples' (*gaṇadhara*), see note 5. It is the collective name of the Jain sacred books. Most MSS. curiously read *gaṇi-paḍigāṃ*, (acc. sing. of *paḍigā*, Skr. *paṭikā*), lit., 'the cloth of the Gaṇī,' perhaps the 'cloth' in which, according to Indian custom, manuscripts are wrapped up.

231 See note 6. According to Abhayadeva (see his comm. to Ov. § 26) the term 'twelve Angas' includes not only the 'eleven Angas,' but the whole of the traditional teaching of the Jina (*jina-pravachana*). In other accounts, the twelve Angas include the *diṭṭhivāo* (*dṛiṣṭivāda*) in addition to the ordinary eleven Angas; see Bhag., p. 282. On the whole question, see Ind. St., vol. xvi, p. 211 ff., 242. "According to Jain tradition, all the twelve Angas already existed at the time of the first Jina (*Usaha*, *Ṛiṣabha*); afterwards from the time of the second to that of the ninth (*Suvihi*, *Suvidhi*) only eleven existed, the last being lost; from the time of the tenth to that of the sixteenth (*Santī*, *Shāntī*) those eleven also were lost; from the time of the seventeenth to that of the twenty-fourth (*Mahāvīra*) all twelve were again in existence, but afterwards the twelfth was lost once more."

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121. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, being happy and pleased (*and so forth,* down to) asked various questions of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, accepted the replies given, and respectfully took leave[232] of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra; and having done so, he returned to the place whence he had come.

122. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, at some time or other, departed from Champā; and having done so, he abode elsewhere in a *different* country.

123. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, engaged in conforming himself to the first standard of an uvāsaga.[233]

124. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, having sanctified himself by many *exercises* (*and so forth,* as above, §§ 66 *and* 89), and having followed the profession of a servant of the Samaṇa for twenty years, and having duly observed in his body the eleven standards of an uvāsaga, *now* mortified himself by *a course of* emaceration continued through one month, during which he deprived himself of sixty meals, remaining entirely without food. At the end of the month allotted for his death, having made confession of sins and promise of amendment, and being sunk in deep spiritual abstraction, he attained his death, and was re-born as a deva in the Aruṇābha abode, *situated* towards the north-east of the grand abode of the Sohamma paradise in the Sohamma heaven. There a certain class of devas is ordained to enjoy an existence through four paliovama periods. *There* Kāmadeva also is ordained to enjoy an existence through four paliovama periods.

125. *Then Goyama enquired of Mahāvīra:* "Reverend Sir, that Kāmadeva, on making his descent from that world of

[232] See note 101.

[233] See note 123.

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devas, after the termination of his allotted life, existence and period,—where will he go to,[234] where will he be reborn ?"

Mahāvīra replied: "O Goyama, in the Great Videha country he will attain perfection."

(*Here the usual* Conclusion *is to be inserted.*)

End of the Second Lecture of the Seventh Anga. *called* the Uvāsagadasāo.

[234] Text *gamihii.* This is the usual form of the future. Another form, much rarer, derived from the base *gachchha* occurs in § 90 (*gachchhihii*).

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IIRD LECTURE.

(The introduction[235] to the third Lecture, *in the usual terms, is to be inserted here.*)

126. Truly, Jambū, at that time and at that period there was a town called Bānārasī.[236] *Near it* was the cheïya Kotthaga. Its king was Jiyasattū.

127. There lived there, in the town of Bānārasī, a householder called Chulaṇīpiyā *who was* prosperous and (*as above.* § 3. down to) without any equal. His wife was *called* Sāmā. *He possessed a treasure of* eight kroṛ *measures* of gold deposited in a safe place, *a capital of* eight kroṛ *measures* of gold put out on interest, a well-stocked estate of the value of eight kroṛ *measures* of gold, and eight herds, each herd consisting of ten thousand head of cattle. (*Here it is to be related of him,* how, like Aṇanda, he was a person whom *many* kings and princes, *as above,* § 5, down to *where it is said that*) he was a cause of prosperity to whatever business he was concerned with. *At a certain time* the Lord arrived, and a congregation went out *from Bānārasī to hear him.* (*Here it is to be related how* Chulaṇīpiyā, like Āṇanda, § 10. went out, *and how* like him, §§ 12-58, he took on himself the law of a householder; *how, similarly as in* § 62, *there occurred* Goyama's

[235] The introduction which is here to be recited from memory, is the standing one which will be found in § 91, only that "second" and "third" must be substituted respectively in the place of "first" and "second" lecture. Comm.

[236] Text *vāṇārasī,* the well-known city of Banāras or Benares. Skr. *vārāṇasī* changes in Prākrit to *vāṇārasī* (Hem. II, 116). The first short *a* of the modern name goes back to a Pr. form *vaṇārasī,* Skr. *varāṇasī.* The original form of the word is still preserved in the modern name of the little stream Bar'ṇā (*varaṇā*) which flows past Benares.

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question, *and how* all the rest *took place* similarly as in Kāmadeva's case, §§ 63-69, down to *where it is said*, § 69 *that*) in his posaha-house, keeping the posaha abstinences and practising continence, he lived in conformity with the teachings of the Law which he had received in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra.

128. Then *one day* in the presence of that Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa, at the time of the midnight hour, there appeared a certain deva.

129. Then that deva, brandishing a sword of the dark blue lustre of a lotus (and so forth, *as in* § 95), spoke thus to Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa: "O ho, Chulaṇīpiyā, thou servant of the Samaṇa (*and so forth*, as *he spoke to* Kāmadeva, § 95, down to) if thou dost not *interrupt thy practice of the virtues, etc.*, then I shall this day carry forth thy eldest son out of thy house; and having done so, I shall slay him before thy eyes, and then cut him up into three lumps of flesh, and then boil him in a cauldron full of a liquid[237]; and having done so, I shall bespatter[238] thy body with his

[237] Text *ādāṇa°* *addahemi*, var. lect. *addehemi*. The MSS. of the Sansk. comm. uniformly explain these words by *ādrahaṇa* and *ādrahayāmi*, which I take to be merely a misspelling for *ārdrahaṇa* and *ārdrahayāmi* from *ārdra* 'wet.' I can find, however, no authority for any such Skr. forms, spelt with *ha*; while there exist two regular Skr. words *ārdrayaṇa* and *ārdrayāmi*. The former would in Prākrit become *addaaṇa* and, thence, contracted *ādāṇa*,—the form that occurs in the text. The Skr. derivation of the Pr. form *addahemi* or *addehemi* is not clear to me. The form *ārdrahayāmi* of the commentary seems to be a mere attempt at sanskritisation, but not intended to give the real Skr. equivalent; for it is explained by *utkvathayāmi*, 'I boil.'

[238] Text *āyanchāmi*, var. lect. *āinchāmi*. The latter is also the reading of the MSS. of the commentary. In some MSS. of the text the Skr. word *āsinchāmi* is substituted. This, of course, is not the phonetic equivalent of the Pr. *āinchāmi*. That is the Skr. *ātanchāmi*, which in Pr. changes to *āyanchāmi*, and thence to *āinchāmi*.

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flesh and his blood, so that agonised by the intolerable force of thy agonies thou shalt, even before thy time, be deprived of thy life."

130. Then that Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa, being thus spoken to by that deva, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained *engaged in the meditation of the Law.*

131. Then that deva, observing that Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (and so forth, *as in*, § 96), spoke thus for a second and a third time to Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa: "O ho, Chulaṇīpiyā, thou servant of the Samaṇa" (*and so forth*, speaking the same as before, § 129, and he, *Chulaṇīpiyā, too, as before*, § 130, down to) remained *engaged in the meditation of the Law.*

132. Then that deva, observing that Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (and so forth, *as in* § 96) grew furious (etc., *as in* § 95), and carried forth the eldest son of Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa, out

The Skr. root *ātanch* is said to be a synonym of the root *prativap*, 'to throw or pour one thing in or upon another.' A derivation of it occurs in the term *ātanchanikodaka*, Pr. *āyanchaṇiodaya*, which denotes the water kept by potters by their side to moisten their fingers with while at work. Thus it is used in the Bhagavatī, shataka 15, uddesha 1, (page 1254[a] of the Calc. print): *āyanchaṇiodaeṇaṃ gātāïm parisinchamāṇe viharaï*, 'he keeps sprinkling his body with the water with which the potter moistens his hands.' Hence Skr. *ātanchana*, Pr. *āyanchaṇa* or *āïnchaṇa* means 'anything thrown in to effect a change.' Hence comes the modern Bihārī term *ainchī* or *anchī* or *inchī* for the opium sediment of a pipe which is added to the smoked opium to make it extra strong (see Grierson, § 1034). As a parallel to the Pr. changes *āyancha*, *āïncha*, *ancha* in this word, may be compared the Pr. forms *āyaṃchhaï* (*ayaṃchhaï*), *āïṃchhaï*, *aṃchhaï* (*aṃchaï*) in Hem. IV, 187; see Journal As. Soc. Beng., vol. XLIX, Part I, p. 38.

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of his house; and having done so, he slew him before his eyes, and then cut him up into three lumps of flesh, and then boiled him in a cauldron[239] full of a liquid. Having done this, he bespattered the body of Chūlaṇipiya, the servant of the Samaṇa with the flesh and the blood *of his son.*

133. Then that Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa, bore (*and so forth, as in* § 111, down to) that fiery *torment with perfect composure.*

134. Then that deva, observing that Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (and so forth, *as in* § 96), spoke thus for the second time[240] to Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa: "O ho, Chulaṇīpiyā, thou servant of the Samaṇa, who desirest what no one desires (*as above,* § 95, down to) if thou doest not interrupt *thy practice of the*

239 Text *kaḍāhayaṃsi*, var. lect. *kaḍahiyaṃsi*. Similarly in the same paragraph *maṃsa-sollae*, with var. lect. *maṃsa-sollie*. These are good examples of the promiscuous use, in Prākrit, of the suffices *aka* and *ika*. The Sanskrit has only *kaṭāhaka* and *shūlyaka*.

240 The text is here confused. MS. B. alone gives the correct reading *dochchaṃ pi;* all the other MSS. read *dochchaṃ pi tachchaṃ pi*. The fact is that there are four distinct temptations, referring to each of the three sons and the mother respectively; and in each of the four cases, the temptation is repeated three times. The first temptation is described in § 129, and repeated twice (*dochchaṃ pi tachchaṃ pi*) in § 131. The second temptation (*dochchaṃ pi*) is related in the story of § 134, and its repetition is merely implied in the rubric of that paragraph. The third temptation (*tachchaṃ pi*) as well as its repetition are referred to in the rubric of § 134. The fourth temptation (*chaütthaṃ pi*) is narrated in § 135, and its repetition (*dochchaṃ pi tachchaṃ pi*) in § 137. In most of the MSS. the phrase *dochchaṃ pi tachchaṃ pi* indicative of the repetition appears to have been confused with the phrases *dochchaṃ pi* and *tachchaṃ pi* introducing the original temptations. It is clear, that in the opening of § 134 the words *tachchaṃ pi* are out of place. Their proper place is in the rubric before *kaṇīyasaṃ*, where I have inserted them.

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virtues, then I shall this day carry forth thy second son out of thy house; and having done so, I shall slay him before thy eyes" (*and so forth*: he spoke exactly as he had done in the case of the eldest son, and acted exactly in the same way, *as in* §§ 129, 131, 132. *He then repeated* the same for the third time with regard to the youngest son, down to) he bore *with perfect composure* (*as in* § 133)

135. Then that deva, observing that Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (and so forth, *as in* § 96), spoke thus for the fourth time to Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa: "O ho, Chulaṇīpiyā, thou servant of the Samaṇa, who desirest what no one desires, (etc., *as in* § 95), if thou dost not interrupt (and so forth, *as in* § 96), then I shall this day carry forth out of thy house that mother of thine, Bhaddā, a merchant's wife, the parent of a most religious person,[241] the performer of most arduous

[241] Text *devaya-guru-jaṇaṇī*, Skr. *daivata-guru-jananī*, lit, 'parent of the divine preceptor,' *i. e.*, of Vṛihaspati. It is thus explained in the Gujarātī paraphrase which has *devatāguru-samān jananī*. To call a person (*i. e.*, compare him with) the Devaguru or Vṛihaspati, is still a common Indian compliment. In like manner in the Nirayāvaliyāsutta, §§ 15, 16, it is applied to king Seṇiya (*devaya-guru-jaṇaga*). Similarly in the Kalpasūtra, § 55, and in the Nāyādhammakahā, § 30, we have *devaya-guru-jaṇa-saṃbaddhāhiṃ* (or *saṃbuddhāhiṃ*) *kahāhiṃ*, i. e., 'stories referring to (or understood of) devaguru-like persons,' (Jacobi in the *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXII, p. 240, gives a different interpretation). The same phrase also occurs in § 138. The MS. readings vary between *devayaṃ guruṃ jaṇaṇī* or *devayaṃ guru-jaṇaṇī*. The latter hardly admits of a grammatical construction; the former is admissible, the accusative being governed by the verb implied in the verbal noun *jaṇaṇī*. I have adopted the less strained reading, suggested by the phrase as it occurs in the paragraphs of the Kalpasūtra and Nāyādhammakahā, just cited. The same variations of reading, however, are found, wherever the phrase occurs in the MSS. I take the Pr. *devaya-guru* to be strictly the equivalent of

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religious works; and having done so, I shall slay her before thy eyes, and then cut her up into three lumps of flesh, and then boil her in a cauldron full of a liquid; and having done so, I shall bespatter thy body with her flesh and her blood, so that agonised by the intolerable force of thy agonies, thou shalt, even before thy time, be deprived of thy life."

136. Then that Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa, being thus spoken to by that deva, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained *occupied with the meditation of the Law*.

137. Then that deva, observing that Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained *engaged in the meditation of the Law*, spoke thus for a second and a third time to Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa: "O ho, Chulaṇīpiyā, thou servant of the Samaṇa (*and so forth*, exactly as before, § 135, down to) thou shalt be deprived *of thy life*."

138. Then to that Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa, being thus spoken to by that deva for the second and the third time, there occurred the following inward (etc.) reflection: "Halloo! this low, low-minded fellow is indulging in low acts of sin, in that he carries forth my eldest son out of my own house, and having done so, slays him before my eyes (*and so forth*, bethinking himself of all that *the deva* had done, § 122, down to) bespatters my body; in that

Skr. *daivata-guru*, not (as usually said) of Skr. *devatā-guru*. The shortening of the final *ā* of *devatā* would be quite anomalous, while Pr. *devaya* for Skr. *daivata* concords with the general Prākrit rule in Hem. I, 148. Hemachandra seems to have accepted the equivaluation *devaya* = *daivatā*, as he admits only *daivata* = *daïvaya* in Hem. I, 151. But there is no sufficient reason why his rule (Hem. I, 153) regarding *daiva* = *deva* or *devva* or *daïva* or *daïvva* should not equally hold good in the case of *daivata*.

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he *further carries forth* my second son out of my house (*as above*, § 132, down to) bespatters *my body* with his blood; in that he *further carries forth* my youngest son out of my house (exactly as before, § 132, down to) bespatters *my body*; and now this mother of mine, Bhaddā, a merchant's wife, the parent of a most religious son, the performer of the most arduous works *of religion*, even her too he wants to carry forth out of my house, and slay her before my eyes. So then, surely, it is better for me to catch that fellow." Thus reflecting, he rose up. Then the other sprang up into the air, while he *himself* caught up a stout pole,[242] and with many loud shouts began to make an uproar.

139. Then that Bhaddā, a merchant's wife, having heard and observed the noise of that uproar, went to where Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa, was; and having gone there, she spoke thus to Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa: "Why is it, my son, that thou makest an uproar with such loud shouting?"

140. Then that Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa, spoke thus to his mother Bhaddā, a merchant's wife: "Truly, mother, I do not know *how it is, but* some fellow, furious (etc., *as in* § 95) and brandishing a large sword of dark blue lustre (and so forth, *as in* § 95), has thus spoken to me: "'O ho, Chulaṇīpiyā, thou servant of the Samaṇa, who desirest what no one desires and art abandoned (etc., *as in* § 95), if thou dost not (*as above*, §§ 95, 129, down to) thou shalt be deprived of thy life.'" Being thus spoken to by that fellow,[243] I showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) re-

[242] Text *khaṃbhe āsāie*, Skr. *stambha āsāditaḥ*. The *khaṃbha* is here a long, stout staff or pole, commonly called a *lāṭhī*. The Gujarātī paraphrase has *thāṃbho pakaḍ'yo*, *thāṃbho grihīta*, or *thāṃbho gaṛho jhālyo*, i. e., 'he took hold of a stout pole.'

[243] There is much confusion here in the MSS. The correct word throughout this paragraph is *purisa*; for it is clear from the context

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mained *engaged in the meditation of the Law.* Then that fellow, observing that I showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained *engaged in the meditation of the Law*, spoke thus to me for a second and a third time: "" O ho, Chulaṇīpiyā, thou servant of the Samaṇa"" (*and so forth*, exactly as before, §§ 129—132, down to) he bespattered my body. Then I bore (*as above*, § 100, down to) that fiery *torment with perfect composure.* (In like manner, all the rest is to be repeated, down to) my youngest son (*and* down to) he bespattered *my body*. *But* I bore (*as above*, § 100, down to) that fiery *torment with perfect composure.* Then that fellow, observing that I showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained engaged *in the meditation of the Law*, spoke thus to me for the fourth time: "" O ho, Chulanīpiyā, thou servant of the Samaṇa, who desirest what no one desires (*as above*, § 95, down to), *if* thou dost not interrupt *thy practice of the virtues*, then this day that mother of thine, *the parent of* a religious son, (*as above*, § 135, down to) thou shalt be deprived *of thy life.*"" Then I, being thus spoken to by that fellow, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained engaged *in the meditation of the Law.* Then that fellow spoke to me thus for a second and a third time: "" O ho, Chulaṇīpiyā, thou servant of the Samaṇa, this day (*as above*, § 135, down to) thou shalt be deprived *of thy life.*"" Then being thus spoken to by that fellow for a second and a third time, there occurred to me the following inward (etc., *as in* § 66) reflection: "" Halloo! this low fellow is indulging (and so forth, *as in* § 138), in

that Chulanīpiyā was under the belief that he was attacked by an ordinary person, or a man, until he was undeceived by his mother (in § 141) who showed him, that it was not an ordinary man, but an apparition, or a deva, that attacked him. The MSS., however, very often read *deva*, instead of *purisa*. I have restored the latter throughout.

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that *he carries forth* my eldest son out of my house (exactly as above, § 138, down to) my youngest son (*and* down to) he bespatters *my body* ; and now even you too he wants to carry forth out of my house in order to slay you before my eyes; so then surely it is better for me to catch that fellow." " Thus reflecting, I rose up. Then he sprang up into the air, while I caught up a stout pole, and with much loud shouting made an uproar."

141. Then that Bhaddā, a merchant's wife, spoke thus to Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa: "Truly, *I tell thee,* it is not any human person that has carried forth (*as above,* §§ 132 *and* 134, down to) thy youngest son out of thy house, and having done so, has slain him before thy eyes. This is not any human person, that has been persecuting thee. This is a monster apparition that thou hast seen. So now thou hast succeeded in breaking thy vows, thy principles, and thy abstinences. Do thou, then, my son, acknowledge thy sin in this matter and (*as above,* § 84, down to) take upon thyself *a penance.*"

142. Then that Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa, saying "be it so," respectfully accepted the decision of his mother Bhadda, a merchant's wife; and having done so, he acknowledged his sin in that matter and (*as above,* § 84, down to) took upon himself *a penance.*

143. Then that Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa, engaged in conforming himself to the first standard of an uvāsaga. *He practised* the first standard according to the sacred writings (*and so forth,* just as Āṇanda *had done,* §§ 70, 71, down to) the eleventh standard.

144. Then that Chulaṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa, through these lofty *ascetic exercises* (*as above,* §§ 72—89, down to), was re-born as a deva in the Aruṇappabha abode, *situated* towards the north-east of the grand abode of the Sohamma paradise in the Sohamma heaven. There he is ordained to

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enjoy an existence through four paliovama periods. *Finally* he will obtain perfection (etc.) in the Great Videha country.

(*Here the usual* Conclusion *is to be inserted.*)

End of the Third Lecture of the Seventh Anga, *called* the Uvāsagadasāo.

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FOURTH LECTURE.

(*Here the usual* Introduction to the Fourth Lecture *is to be inserted.*)

145. Truly, Jambū, at that time and at that period, there was a town called Bāṇārasī. *Near it* was the Cheïya Koṭṭhaga. Its king was Jiyasattū. *In it lived* the householder Surādeva *who was* prosperous. *He possessed a treasure of* six kroṛ *measures* of gold (*as above*, § 92, down to) six herds, each herd consisting of ten thousand head of cattle. His wife was *called* Dhannā. *At a certain time* the Lord arrived. (*Here it is to be related how acting* in all respects like Āṇanda, §§ 10—65, Surādeva also took on himself the law of a householder; *and how he, acting* like Kāmadeva, §§ 66—69, down to) lived in conformity with the teachings of the Law which he had received in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra.

146. Then *one day* in the presence of that Surādeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, at the time of the midnight hour, there appeared a certain deva.

147. That deva, brandishing a large sword of dark blue lustre (and so forth, *as in* § 95), spoke thus to Surādeva, the servant of the Samaṇa: "O ho, Surādeva, thou servant of the Samaṇa, who desirest what no one desires (etc., *as in* § 95), if thou dost not interrupt *the practice* of the virtues (and so forth, *as in* § 95), then I shall carry forth thy eldest son out of thy house; and having done so, I shall slay him before thy eyes. Then I shall cut him up into five lumps of flesh, and boil him in a cauldron full of a liquid; and having done so, I shall bespatter thy body with his flesh and his blood, so that, even before thy time, thou shalt be deprived of thy life." (*Here it is to be related, how he said* the same

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with regard to the second and the youngest sons, *except that there were* five lumps of flesh in each case, *and how* he did the same as he had done in the case of Chulaṇīpiyā, except that there were five lumps of flesh in each case.)

148. Then that deva spoke thus for the fourth time to Surādeva, the servant of the Samaṇa: "O ho, Surādeva, thou servant of the Samaṇa, who desirest what no one desires, (etc., *as in* § 95, down to), *if* thou dost not abandon *the practice of the virtues*, then I shall this day afflict thy body, all at once, with the sixteen diseases and sicknesses, *viz.*, asthma, cough (*and so forth*, down to) leprosy, so that agonised by the intolerable force of thy agonies, (*as above*, § 95, down to) thou shalt be deprived *of thy life*."

149. Then that Surādeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained *engaged in the meditation of the law*.

150. (*Here* the deva spoke in a similar manner for the second and a third time, *as in* §§ 95—97, down to) "thou shalt be deprived *of thy life*."

151. Then to that Surādeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, on being thus spoken to by that deva for a second and a third time, there occurred the following inward (etc., *as in* § 66) reflection: "Halloo! this low fellow indulges (and so forth, *as in* § 138) *in sin*, in that *he has carried forth* my eldest son (*and so forth*, down to) my youngest son, (*and so forth*, § 138, down to) has bespattered *my body*; and now those sixteen diseases and illnesses, with them too he wants to afflict my body. So then, surely, it is better for me to catch this fellow." Thus reflecting he rose up. Then the other sprang up into the air, while he caught up a stout pole, and with much loud shouting created an uproar.

152. Then that Dhannā, his wife, hearing and observing the uproar, went to where Surādeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, was; and having gone there, she spoke to him

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thus: "Why is it, beloved of the devas, that you[244] make an uproar with such loud shouting?"

153. Then that Surādeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, spoke thus to Dhannā, his wife: "Truly, beloved of the devas, some fellow" (*and so forth; here he says exactly the same as Chulaṇīpiyā; Dhannā too replies as before*, §§ 140, 141, down to "the youngest.") "Truly, beloved of the devas, it is not any human person, that is about to afflict your body, all at once, with the sixteen diseases and sicknesses. This is not any human person that has been persecuting you," (*and so forth, saying the rest exactly as in the case of Chulaṇīpiyā*).

154. (In like manner all the rest, without exception, *as in* §§ 142—144, *is to be repeated* down to) *he was re-born as a deva* in the Arunakanta abode, in the Sohamma heaven, *where he, Surādeva, enjoys* an existence of four paliovama periods; and in the Great Videha country he will attain perfection, (etc.).

(*Here the usual* Conclusion *is to be inserted.*)

End of the Fourth Lecture of the Seventh Anga, *called* the Uvāsagadasāo.

[244] MS. A reads *tubbhe*, and MSS. B D E F read *tubbhe ṇam* (or perhaps *tubbheṇam*). The case here required is the instrumental plural, which, according to Hem. III, 95, is *tubbhehim*, and which accordingly I have adopted in the text. The wife always addresses her husband in the second person plural, while the husband uses the singular towards his wife. See also note 263.

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FIFTH LECTURE.

(*Here the usual* Introduction to the Fifth Lecture *is to be inserted.*)

155. Truly, Jambū, at that time and at that period there was a town called Ālabhiyā.[245] *Near it* was the garden Saṅkhavaṇa. Its king was Jiyasattū.[246] *In it lived* the householder Chullasayaga *who was* prosperous and (*as above*, §§ 3, 4, down to) *possessed a treasure* of six kroṛ *measures* of gold (*and so forth, as in* § 92, down to) six herds, each herd consisting of ten thousand head of cattle. His wife was *called* Bahulā. *At a certain time* the Lord arrived. (*Here it is to be related, how* like Āṇanda, §§ 10 to 65, he, *Chullasayaga*, took on himself the law of a householder; also the rest, *how* he like Kāmadeva, §§ 66—69, down to) lived in conformity with the teachings of the Law.

156. Then *one day* in the presence of that Chullasayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, at the time of the midnight hour, there appeared a certain deva, *who*, brandishing a *large* sword (and so forth, *as in* § 95), spoke to him thus: "O ho, Chullasayaga, thou servant of the Samaṇa, (*as above*, § 95, down to) *if thou* dost not interrupt *thy practice of the virtues*,

[245] Text *ālabhiyā*, var. lect. *ālahiyā* or *ālambhiyā*. The correct form of the name is uncertain. The site of the town has not yet been identified. In the Kalpasūtra (§ 122) it is mentioned as one of the places where Mahāvīra spent one rainy season, and in the Bhagavatī (p. 1243*a*, Calc. print) it is mentioned as the place where Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta underwent his fifth change by reanimation, (see Rokhill's *Life of Buddha*, p. 255).

[246] See note 9. In the *Rāyapaseṇaijja* Jiyasattū is mentioned as king of Sāvatthī, "in the Kunāla country." The town is the well-known capital of the Kosala country; see Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 407. This seems to point to an identity of Jiyasattū with Prasenajit and Cheḍaga. See also Leumann's *Beziehungen zur Jaina Literatur*, pp. 38, 70.

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then I shall this day carry forth thy eldest son out of thy house" (*and so forth, saying* the same as to Chulaṇīpiyā, *as in* §§ 129—134, except that there were seven lumps of flesh in each case, down to) "thy youngest son" (*and* down to) "I shall bespatter *thy body*."

157. Then that Chullasayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, (*as above*, §§ 96, 98, down to) remained *engaged in the meditation of the Law*.

158. Then that deva spoke thus, for the fourth time, to Chullasayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa: "O ho, Chullasayaga, thou servant of the Samaṇa (*as above*, § 95, down to) if thou dost not interrupt *thy practice of the virtues*, then I shall this day carry away from thy house that treasure of thine of six kroṛ *measures* of gold deposited *in a safe place*, that capital of thine of six *kroṛ measures of gold* put out on interest, and that well-stocked estate of thine of the value of six *kroṛ measures of gold*; and having done so, I shall scatter the whole of it everywhere throughout the town of Ālabhiyā on its crossings (*and so forth*, down to) roads, so that agonised by the intolerable force of thy agonies thou shalt, even before thy time, be deprived of thy life."

159. Then that Chullasayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, being thus spoken to by that deva, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained *engaged in the meditation of the Law*.

160. Then that deva, observing that Chullasayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (and so forth, *as in* § 96), *spoke thus to him* for a second and third time, (saying the same as before, § 158, down to) "thou shalt be deprived *of thy life*."

161. Then to that Chullasayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, on being thus spoken to by that deva for a second and a third time, there occurred the following inward, (etc., *as in* § 66) reflection: "Halloo! this low fellow" (*and so forth*, thinking exactly the same as Chulaṇīpiyā, § 138, down to) "my youngest son" (*and* down to) "I shall bespatter

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thy body"; and now this treasure of mine of six kroṛ *measures* of gold deposited *in a safe place* and this capital of mine of six kroṛ *measures* of gold put out on interest, and this well-stocked estate of mine of the value of six kroṛ *measures* of gold, those too he wants to carry away from my[247] house, and scatter them throughout the town of Ālabhiyā on its crossings (and so forth, *as in* § 158). So then, surely, it is better for me to catch this fellow." Reflecting thus, he rose up (*and acted in all respects* like Surādeva, § 151; in like manner his wife questioned him,[248] and in like manner he replied, §§ 152, 153).

162. (The remainder *is to be related* as in the case of Chulaṇīpiyā, §§ 142—144, down to) he was reborn *as a deva* in the Aruṇasiddha abode in the Sohamma heaven, *where he is enjoying* an existence through four paliovama periods. (The remainder *is to be related* exactly as before, § 125, down to) he will attain perfection in the Great Videha country.

(*Here the usual* Conclusion *is to be inserted.*)

End of the Fifth Lecture of the Seventh Anga,
called the Uvāsagadasāo.

[247] It may be noted that all MSS. here use the pleonastic expression *mamaṃ sāo* (or *sayāo*) for the simple *sāo*. The possessive pronoun *sa* (Skr. *sva*) relates to all three persons equally, and its application, in any given case, depends on the context. A specification, as here given, is quite unusual.

[248] The MSS. A B F insert *se*, the construction of which is puzzling. Perhaps it may be the equivalent of *tassa* (Skr. *tasya*, see Hem. III, 81), to be constructed with *puchchhaï*, and being used instead of the accusative *taṃ* (see Hem. III, 134).

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SIXTH LECTURE.

(*Here the* Introduction to the Sixth *Lecture, in the usual terms, is to be inserted.*)

163. Truly, Jambū, at that time and at that period there was the town of Kampillapura.[249] *Near it* there was the garden Sahassambavaṇa.[250] Its king was Jiyasattū. *In it lived* the householder Kuṇḍakoliya. His wife was *called* Pūsā. *He possessed a treasure of* six kroṛ *measures* of gold deposited in a safe place, *a capital of* six *kroṛ measures of gold* put out on interest, a well-stocked estate of the value of six *kroṛ measures of gold*, and six herds, each herd consisting of ten thousand head of cattle. *At a certain time* the Lord arrived. (*Here is to be related how*, like Kāmadeva, §§ 10—65, *Kuṇḍakoliya* took on himself the law of a householder, and all the rest, down to *where it is said that*) he devoted himself to supplying *the Nigghanthas.*

164. Then that Kuṇḍakoliya, the servant of the Samaṇa, at some time or other, at the time of the midday hour, went to where the *sacred* masonry platform was in the little grove of Asoga trees; and having gone there he placed on the masonry

[249] *Kampillapura*, Skr. *Kāmpilyapura*, now a village called Kampil, on the old Ganges, between Badāon and Farrukhābād, was the ancient capital of the South Panchāla country. It still possesses several Jain temples. See Cunningham's Arch. Reports, vol. I, p. 255 (Plate II), and vol. XI, pp. 11, 12. (Also Ind. Ant. vol. IV, p. 111). It is famous in the Brāhmanic and Jain legends as the place of Draupadī's svayaṃvara-marriage. See Nāy., chap. XVI, pp. 1226 ff. (Calc. ed.), also Leumann, *Beziehungen zur Jaina-Literatur*, p. 73.

[250] Text *sahassambavaṇa*, Skr. *sahasrāmravana*, 'the grove of a thousand mango-trees.'

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platform[251] a seal *inscribed* with his name[252] and his upper garment; and thenceforth he lived in conformity with the

[251] Text *puḍhavi-silā-paṭṭae*, Skr. *pṛithivī-shilā-paṭṭakaḥ*, 'a masonry platform.' *Paṭṭaya* is a *sthāna* or 'platform'; see the Guj. paraph. to Bhag., p. 172*a*. (Calc. print) *pṛithivī shilā sthān*. *Puḍhavi-silā* does not mean 'a natural rock' ('Erdfels-platte', Bhag., pp. 293, 297); for these platforms are not unfrequently made at the foot of sacred trees, where there is no rock. The phrase is not usually explained either in the Skr. comm. or in the paraph. But here the paraph. has *pṛithivī no shilā-paṭṭa* 'a stone platform of earth.' It is still more clearly explained in the paraph. to Ov. § 10, where we find *pṛithivī-kāya nī shilā etāvatā shilā-paṭṭa*, i. e. 'stone of earth-stuff; a stone platform made of such stone.' The meaning of *pṛithivīkāya* (Pr. *puḍhavikāya*) is explained in Bhag., p. 1287*a* (Calc. print). It refers to *puḍhavīo* 'earth, clay, etc.,' *sakkarāo* 'gravel, pebbles, etc.,' *valuyāo* 'sand,' *uvalāo* 'stones,' *sūrakantāo* 'crystals,' 'sunstone,' etc. The Skr. comm. there explains *puḍhavīo* by *mṛittikāh*. This is also the ordinary Jain explanation of the term *puḍhavī-silā-paṭṭaya*, 'a platform made of (*māṭī* or) earth or clay.' As a matter of fact these platforms are frequently built up of clay, well stamped down, which when dried becomes hard like stone, and when coated with a surface of *chunam* ('lime') looks as if made of polished stone slabs. Or they are made of stones set in clay or lime. Such platforms, of varying sizes, are still commonly found near Jain shrines. Votive offerings are placed on them. Sometimes they are situated at the foot of a sacred tree, sometimes on the summit of a sacred mountain. Thus we find a *paṭṭae* at the foot of an Asoga tree, in Ov. § 10; and again on the summit of the Puṇḍarīya or Shatrunjaya Mountain, in Nāy., p. 592 (Calc. print), or of the Vipula Mountain, in Bhag., p. 293, (see Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 464).

[252] Seals of this description are still dug out in great numbers from ancient sites of Jain or Buddhist shrines. See my '*Notes on some clay-seals found in the Panjāb*,' in the *Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for September 1884. See also Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. XI, pp. 35, 89, Vol. III, p. 157,

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teachings of the Law which he had received in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra.

165. Then *one day* in the presence of that Kuṇḍakoliya, the servant of the Samana, there appeared a certain deva.

166. Then that deva snatched away from the masonry platform the seal inscribed with his name and his upper garment, and having done so and mounting up with them into mid-air under the sound of little bells, he thus spoke to Kuṇḍakoliya, the servant of the Samaṇa : "O ho, Kuṇḍakoliya, thou servant of the Samaṇa! good, O beloved of the devas, is the doctrine of the Law of Gosāla, Mankhaliputta,[253]

[253] Text *gosālassa mankhaliputtassa*, Skr. *goshālasya mankhaliputrassa*. Gosāla, the son of Mankhali, the founder of the Ājīvika sect, was one of the principal rivals of Mahāvīra, as also of Buddha. In the Skr. comm. to Ov. § 120, the Ājīvikas, are said to be *Goshālaka-mat'ānuvartinaḥ, i. e.*, 'followers of the doctrine of Gosāla'; and in the Skr. comm. to § 181 (below), they are called *Goshālaka-shiṣyāḥ* or 'disciples of Gosāla.' That the sect was, at one time, of considerable importance, appears from the reference to them in Ashoka's inscription on the Dihlī pillar where the Ājīvikas are named together with the Brāhmaṇas and the Nirgranthas or Jainas (*bābhaṇesu, ājīvikesu, niggaṃthesu*), see *Corpus Inscript. Indicarum*, Plate XX, lines 4, 5; also *Mahāvaṃso* (ed. Turnour), p. 67. Gosāla is said to have received his name from having been born in a cow-shed *(gosālā)*; and his father is said to have been a *mankka* (Skr. comm. *chitraphalaka-vyagrakara-bhikṣu-visheṣa*), *i. e.*, a kind of beggar that tries to extract alms from the charitable by showing them pictures of deities, which he carries about with him. In the present day in Bengal such beggars usually carry ugly pictures or representations of such deities as *Shītalā*, the goddess of small-pox, or *Olābībī*, the goddess of cholera, etc. In Pūrī they carry pictures of Jagannāth, and greatly pester the pilgrims to that shrine. The history of Gosāla is related at length in the fifteenth section *(shataka)* of the Bhagavatī-sūtra. As that section is of considerable importance also from the chronological and doctrinal points

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which says that there is no *such thing as* exertion or labour or power or vigour or manly strength, but all things are unal-

of view, I have added a brief translation of the whole in an appendix. A portion of it will be also found translated in Appendix I to Rockhill's *Life of Buddha;* but the portion left untranslated there contains a notice of several curious doctrines of Gosāla. The religio-philosophical part of the doctrine of Gosāla which formed the principal mark of distinction between him and other contemporary sectarian leaders, is referred to above (§ 166), and again below in the seventh chapter. It is also given, from Chinese Buddhists accounts, in Appendix II to Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, and in Oldenberg's *Buddha*, p. 70. Buddha is said to have declared it to be the worst of all doctrines (see Oldenberg, *ib.*). Its essence appears to have been the negation of free will and moral responsibility; according to him man throughout life was solely the resultant of his natural environments.—Mahāvīra's relation to Gosāla, as related in the fifteenth section of the Bhagavatī, affords an interesting means for the determination of the chronology of the former's life,—all the more valuable as it is undesigned. The account states that Mahāvīra was 30 years old, when he left his home as an ascetic, (Bhag., p. 1206*a* Calc. print). Two years afterwards he met with Gosāla in Nālanda, near Rāyagiha (*ib.*, p. 1206*b*). Later in the same year Gosāla became his disciple and adopted the ascetic life; and thenceforward, the two ascetics lived together for six years in Paṇiyabhūmi (*ib.*, p. 1214*a*). Some little time afterwards, a doctrinal difference arose between them, and they separated in Siddhatthagāma (*ib.*, p. 1222*b*). They did not meet again, till many years afterwards, when their fatal meeting took place in Sāvatthī. Gosāla for his part, after the separation, went to Sāvatthī, where in Hālāhalā's potter shop after a six months' course of severe asceticism, he attained Jinahood (*ib.*, pp. 1222*b*, 1211*a*). In that state of Jinahood, he had spent 16 years (*ib.*, p. 1211*a*), when Mahāvīra also came to Sāvatthī (*ib.*, p. 1203*a*), and the meeting between them took place, which seven days afterwards proved the cause of Gosāla's death (*ib.*, pp. 1250*a*, 1264*a*). At the time of that meeting, and of Gosāla's death, the latter was in the 24th year of his ascetic life (*ib.*, p. 1201*a*). It follows, therefore, that two years intervened between the six years

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terably fixed. *On the other hand* bad is the doctrine of the Law of the Samana. the blessed Mahāvīra, *which says that*

passed by Gosāla in Lamyabhūmi, and the time of his attaining Jina-hood (for 6 + 2 + 16 = 24). After Gosāla's death, Mahāvīra still lived for a period of sixteen years, according to his own prophecy (*ib.*, pp. 1250*a*, 1269*a*), which, of course, is to be taken as a historical statement made in the form of a prophecy. We thus obtain the following series of dates for determining the length of Mahāvīra's life to have been 72 years.

Mahāvīra left his home	30	years.
„ meets Gosāla	2	„
„ lives with Gosāla	6	„
Gosāla lives alone before Jina-hood ..	2	„
„ lives as Jina	16	„
Mahāvīra survives Gosāla	16	„
Total of Mahāvīra's life ..	72	years.

Now this agrees with the express statement of the Kalpasūtra (§ 147), according to which

Mahāvīra lived as householder	30	years	(Kap. § 110)	
„ „ as imperfect ascetic	12	„	(Kap. §§ 117, 120)	} 42
„ „ as Kevalin or Jin...	30	„	(Kap. § 147)	
Total of Mahāvīra's life ..	72	„		

Out of the 72 years of his life, Mahāvīra spent 42 years in monk-hood (Kap. § 147), *viz.*, 12 in the preliminary and 30 in the perfect state. Similarly Gosāla spent 24 years of his life in monk-hood, *viz.*, 8 in the preliminary and 16 in the perfect state; and further, out of the 8 years of monk-hood in the preliminary state, Gosāla spent 6 in the company of Mahāvīra, and 2 by himself. Again out of the 12 years of monk-hood in the preliminary state, Mahāvīra spent upwards of one year as a clothed monk; but in the second year he became a naked monk (Kap. § 117). The latter year coincides with that in which Mahāvīra, according to the Bhagavatī, met Gosāla and attracted him as his (apparently, first) disciple. Of the remaining 10 years he spent 6 with Gosāla. Accordingly after having separated from Gosāla,

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there is *such a thing as* exertion or labour or power or vigour or manly strength,[254] and *that* all things are not unalterably fixed."

Mahāvīra lived for 4 years longer in his preliminary monk-hood. On the other hand, seeing that Gosāla attained Jina-hood within 2 years after his separation from Mahāvīra, it follows that at the time Mahāvīra became a Kevalin or Jina, Gosāla had already been a Jina for 2 years. This priority of Gosāla in regard to Jina-hood, before Mahāvīra is a noteworthy point. As Gosāla had originally been a disciple of Mahāvīra, it naturally enough explains the intense hostility, towards him, of Mahāvīra, who resented the presumption of the disciple in taking precedence of his master. It is evident from the tenor of the account in the Bhagavatī, that Mahāvīra and Gosāla never met but once, after the separation ; and that was in the town of Sāvatthī at the time of the fatal encounter. As Sāvatthī was the head-quarters of Gosāla, it is clear that Mahāvīra can have visited that town but once in his life as a monk, otherwise he could not have avoided meeting Gosāla much oftener. Now this is borne out by the express statement in the Kalpasūtra (§ 122) that Mahāvīra spent but one rainy season in Sāvatthī. During that rainy season the fatal encounter must have taken place. At that time Mahāvīra had been 14 years a Jina, while Gosāla had been so 16 years : and the event took place in the 56th year of Mahāvīra's life (for 30 + 12 + 14 = 56). If we accept the year 467 B. C. (see Jacobi's *Kalpasūtra*, Introd., p. 9) as the date of Mahāvīra's death, his visit to Sāvatthī and the death of Gosāla will fall in 483 B. C. The only discrepancy between the accounts of the Bhagavatī and the Kalpasūtra is, that according to the former Mahāvīra spent 6 years in Paṇiyabhūmi (in the company of Gosāla), while the latter gives him only one year in that place, but 6 years in Mithilā. Of this difficulty I am, at present, unable to offer any satisfactory solution.

[254] Text *purisakkāra-parakkame*, Skr. *purushāt-kāra-parakramaḥ*, lit. 'such exertion as can be made by man.' *Purisakkāra* is formed like *balakkara*, Skr. *balātkāra*. The ordinary Skr. word is *purushakāra* Pali *purisa-kāra*.

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167. Then that Kuṇḍakoliya, the servant of the Samaṇa, spoke thus to that deva: "If, deva,[255] the doctrine of the Law of Gosāla Mankhaliputta is good, *because it says, that* there is no *such thing as* exertion (*as above*, § 166, down to) all things are unalterably fixed; *and if on the other hand*, the doctrine of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is bad,[256] because it *says that* there is *such a thing as* exertion (*as above*, § 166, down to) all things are not unalterably fixed; then, deva,[255] how didst thou attain, how didst thou acquire, how didst thou achieve this thy celestial bliss, thy celestial glory, thy celestial power of a deva? Was it by dint of exertion (*as above*, § 166, down to) manly strength, or on the other hand, was it without exertion, without labour (*as above*, § 166, down to) manly strength"?

168. Then that deva spoke thus to Kuṇḍakoliya, the servant of the Samaṇa: "Truly, beloved of the devas, I have attained, acquired and achieved this my celestial bliss (etc., *as in* § 167) of a deva without any exertion (*as above*, § 166, down to) manly strength."

169. Then that Kuṇḍakoliya, the servant of the Samaṇa, spoke thus to that deva: "If, deva, thou hast attained, acquired and achieved this thy celestial bliss (etc., *as in*

[255] The MSS. are uncertain, reading *devā*, or *devāṇu°* or *devāṇuppiyā*. I have adopted the reading *devā*, for reasons, similar to those explained in note 215. See also note 257.

[256] Text *mangulī*. The Skr. comm. explains the word by *asundarī*. It is enumerated as a deshī word by Hemachandra in his *Deshīnāmamālā*, VI, 145: *mangulam aṇiṭṭha-pāvesu*, comm. *mangulam aniṣṭaṃ pāpaṃ cha, mangulo chaura ity anye*; *i. e.*, *mangula* means 'undesirable' or 'a sin, according to others, it means 'a thief.' I imagine it is the same as Skr. *madgura*, from *madgu* 'an outcast,' 'low.' Ordinarily *madgu* becomes Pr. *maggū* (Hem. II, 77), but the form *mangula* would be made analogously to Pr. *vanka* (for *vakka*), Skr. *vakra*, etc. (Hem. I, 26). The corresponding Marāṭhī word is *māg* or *māg'ḍā*

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§ 167) of a deva without any exertion (*as above,* § 166, down to) manly strength, then those living beings in whom there is no exertion (*as above,* § 166, down to) *manly* strength, why are they not also devas?[257] Hence, O deva, I *say*[258] *that* thou hast attained, acquired and achieved this thy celestial bliss (etc., *as in* § 167) of a deva by dint of exertion (*as above,* § 166, down to) *manly* strength. Therefore, what thou sayest, that the doctrine of the Law of Gosāla Mankhaliputta is good, *because it says that* there is no *such thing as* exertion (*as above,* § 166, down to) all things are unalterably fixed, but that the doctrine of the Law of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is bad, *because it says that* there is *such a thing as* exertion (*as above,* § 166, down to) all things are not unalterably fixed,—that *saying of thine* is false."

170. Then that deva, being thus spoken to by Kuṇḍakoliya, the servant of the Samaṇa, *and* becoming doubtful (*as above,* § 86, down to) feeling guilty of sin,[259] was unable to

[257] Or, 'what! should they not also be devas?' In either case the argument is the same. Instead of *devā*, all MSS. read *devāṇuppiyā*. This reading is clearly out of place here; and it illustrates well the thoughtless way of Jain scribes in expanding or abbreviating well-known phrases, remarked on in note 215. The argument is a *reductio ad absurdum.* "If the absence of exertion is the cause of deva-hood in your case, then it must be the cause of deva-hood, wherever it is found; for the same cause must always produce the same effect. But some living beings are not devas, though there is in them absence of exertion. Hence the absence of exertion cannot be the cause of deva-hood; but on the contrary, its cause must be the presence of exertion." There is obviously a fallacy in this argument, as it treats the absence of one phenomenon as the positive cause of another. Regarding Gosāla's theory, see note 253.

[258] All MSS. read *ahaṇṇaṃ*, Skr. *ahaṃ naṃ*, which I take to be elliptic, a verb of 'saying' to be supplied. Or perhaps the reading should be corrected to *aha ṇaṃ*, Skr. *atha naṃ*.

[259] He was doubtful as to whether or not Kuṇḍakoliya had spoken

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say anything more in reply[260] to Kuṇḍakoliya, the servant of the Samaṇa. So he placed the seal inscribed with his name, and his upper garment on the masonry platform; and having done so, he went away to the place whence he had come.

171. At that time and at that period the Lord arrived *in Kampillapura.*

172. Then that Kuṇḍakoliya, the servant of the Samaṇa, having been informed of this news, was happy, and (*acting in all respects* like Kāmadeva, he went out *to hear Mahāvīra, as above,* § 116, down to) stood waiting *on the Samaṇa.* (*Here* the Sermon of the Law *is to be recited.*)

173. *Then* the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, addressing Kuṇḍakoliya,[261] the servant of the Samaṇa, spoke to him thus: "Surely, Kuṇḍakoliya, yesterday, at the time of the midday hour, in the little grove of Asoga trees, there appeared before thee[262] a certain deva. Then that deva *snatched*

the truth, and he felt guilty of the sin of falsehood (*michchhā*) regarding Mahāvīra's doctrine.

260 Text *pāmokkham*, Skr. *pramukhyam*, 'what is opposed to,' hence 'a reply.' This is the interpretation of the comm., which has *uttaram* 'a reply.' It gives *pramokṣa* as the Skr. equivalent. But the word occurs also in Pāli *pāmokkha* with the meaning 'principal, chief.' From this it is clear, that the Skr. equivalent is *pramukhya*. The passage might also be translated: 'he was unable any more to say anything excellent, or of importance, to Kuṇḍakoliya'; thus giving to *pāmokkha* the sense of 'principal,' 'excellent.'

261 Lit., 'saying: O Kuṇḍakoliya'; see note 105.

262 Text *tubbha*, Skr. *tava*. This is the reading of MṢ. G. It is the correct reading according to Hemachandra's rule (III, 99), which allows only the form *tubbha*, without the anuswāra, for the genitive singular, while the form *tubbhaṃ*, with the anuswāra, is assigned by his rule (III, 100) to the genitive plural. Again the singular is here the correct number, because that number is always used by a master in addressing his disciple. Thus we find the singular number

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away the seal inscribed with thy name and (exactly as before, §§ 166—170, down to) went away. Surely Kuṇḍakoliya, this account is correct?"

Kuṇḍakoliya replied: "Yes, it is."

Mahāvīra continued: "Then happy art thou, Kuṇḍakoliya" (*and so forth, saying* the same as in the case of Kāmadeva, § 113).

174. Then turning to his venerable companions,[263] the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra addressed the male and female Nigganṭha ascetics *who were with him*, and spoke to them thus: "Surely, Venerable Companions, if those *servants of the Samaṇa who are* householders, living in the midst of householders,[264] refute the theo-

a little lower down in *dhanne si tumaṃ*, 'happy art thou.' It should be noted, however, that the Jain MSS., in such contexts, read almost uniformly the form *tubbhaṃ*, with the anuswāra; see, *e. g.*, § 118. See also Nāy. § 79, where the king uses *tubbhaṃ*, in speaking to his wife, whom he has immediately before addressed by the singular *tumaṃ* 'thou.' Here the form *tubbhaṃ* is clearly intended to be the singular; for that number is always used by a husband in speaking to his wife. The nearly uniform MSS. authority, therefore, does not seem to bear out Hemachandra's rule, but to permit both forms, *tubbhaṃ* as well as *tubbha*, for the genitive singular. Of course, it is just possible, that the anuswāra is a clerical error, the general consensus of MSS. notwithstanding. Still, seeing that Hemachandra himself allows (III, 99) both forms *tumhaṃ* and *tumha* in the singular, and seeing further that the forms *tubbha*, *tumha*, *tujjha*, etc. are mere variants (III, 99), it is quite probable that *tubbhaṃ* is as true a form of the genitive singular as *tumhaṃ*. Moreover the analogy of Hemachandra's rule (I, 27) would support the addition of the anuswāra.

263 Lit., 'saying: O venerable ones'; see notes, 105, 226.

264 Text *gihi-majjhā vasantā*, Skr. *gṛihi-madhye vasantaḥ*, 'living in the midst of householders.' The commentary follows another reading *gihamajjhāvasantā*, which it here interprets by Skr. *gṛihaṃ*

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ries[265] of heterodox people by means of theses, arguments, questions, proofs and explanations, then much more Venerable Companions, must the Nigganṭha ascetics who are students of the sacred collection of the twelve Angas, be able to refute the theories of heterodox people by means of theses" (and so forth, *as above*).

175. Then the male and female Nigganṭha ascetics, saying "so it is," reverently assented[266] to that opinion of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra.

176. Then that Kuṇḍakoliya, the servant of the Samaṇa, praised and worshipped the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra; and having done so, he asked him *various* questions, and accepted the replies *given*. Having done so, he returned to the place whence he had come.

177. *Then* the Lord *departed and* took up his abode elsewhere in a *different* country.

178. Then fourteen years passed by during which that Kuṇḍakoliya, the servant of the Samaṇa, sanctified himself by many *ascetic* exercises (and so forth, *as above*, § 66); and when he was in the middle of the fifteenth year, at some

adhyāvasantaḥ, while in § 83 it seems to be taken as Skr. *griha-madhya-āvasantaḥ*. In either case the meaning would be *grihe vartamānāḥ*, 'staying in a house,' 'inhabiting a house'; though the former interpretation would perhaps imply the emphatic sense of 'inhabiting a house as its owner.' On the relative value of the two Prākrit variants see note 228.

265 Text *annaütthiye nippaṭṭha-pasiṇa-vāgaraṇe karenti*, lit., 'they make heterodox people to be such as have their explanations of the (controversial) questions refuted.'

266 It may be worth noting that the MSS. here, and in similar places (§ 174, *karenti*, § 119, *sahanti*, § 120, *paḍisuṇanti*), greatly vary as to the use of the singular or the plural of the verb in construction with the plural of the subject. The majority is certainly for the singular. But I have adopted the plural, as being the more natural construction.

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time or other, (*here is to be related how acting* like Kāmadeva, §§ 92 and 66—69, he placed his eldest son *in charge of his household*, down to *where it is said that* in his posaha-house) he lived in conformity with the teachings of the Law *of Mahāvīra*. (Likewise, *as in* §§ 70, 71, *it is to be related how he observed all* the eleven standards of an uvāsaga.)

179. (Exactly in the same way, as before, §§ 89, 90 or 124, 125, *it is to be related how he was re-born as a deva*) in the Aruṇajjhaya abode in the Sohamma heaven (*and so forth*, down to) he shall finish his course.

(*Here the usual* Conclusion *is to be inserted.*)

End of the Sixth Lecture of the Seventh Anga *called* the Uvāsagadasāo.

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SEVENTH LECTURE.

(*Here the usual* Introduction to the Seventh Lecture *is to be inserted.*)

180. There was a town called Polāsapura. *Near it* there was the garden Sahassambavaṇa. Its king was Jiyasattū.

181. There in the town of Polāsapura, lived a potter, named Saddālaputta, *who was* a servant of the Ājīviya.[267] He having heard and understood and questioned and ascertained and mastered the tenets of the Ājīviya, and being filled with a passionate love towards them as for the most excellent thing,[268] was conducting himself according to the

[267] That is, of Gosāla Mankhaliputta. See note 253.

[268] *Aṭṭhimiṃja-pemāṇurāga-ratte*, Skr. *asthi-majja-prem'ānurāga-raktaḥ*, lit. 'impassioned with the passion of love towards them as for the marrow of bones', is explained in the Guj. paraph. to Ov. § 124 by *asthi hāḍ, anaï miṃja hāḍ mā̃hilī mīj* (or *mījī*) *dhātuvisheṣa, te Bhagavant nā siddhānta-rūp ; prema-rūp kusumbhādik rāgaï* (apparently a var. lect. for *anurāgaī*) *karī naï rangāṇā chhoï jeh nā*, i. e., '*asthi* means *a bone*, its *miṃja* is the *marrow* (*mīj*) within the bone, and is a kind of *element*; it stands for the doctrine of the Blessed-one (Mahāvīra); love is like saffron, with the colour of which he is coloured.' The usual Sanskrit equivalent of *miṃja* is *majjā* (stem *majjan*), but the Prākrit form *miṃja* occurs in the Skr. *minjikāminjika*, the name of two beings said to be sprung from the 'semen' of Rudra; for *majjā* is a medical term for the element or essential ingredient of the body, which is produced from the bones and itself produces semen, (Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi, *v.* 619). Hence the marrow is called *śukra-kara* 'semen producing' (*ib.*, *v.* 628), and the semen, *majja-samudbhava* or 'produced from the marrow' (*ib.*, *v.* 629). The word *miṃja* occurs in

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dictates of the Ājīviya tenets, believing[269] those tenets to be the truth, the highest truth, and all the rest to be false.

182. That Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, possessed *a treasure of* one kroṛ *measures* of gold deposited *in a safe place, a capital of* one *kroṛ measures of gold* put out on interest, a well-stocked estate of the value of one *kroṛ measures of gold*, and one herd consisting of ten thousand head of cattle.

183. That Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, had a wife called Aggimittā.

184. That Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, possessed, outside of the town of Polāsapura, five hundred potter shops. There a large number of men who received food in lieu of wages, day by day,[270] prepared a large number of bowls, pots, pans, and pitchers and jars of six different sizes;[271] and another large number of men who *also* received food in lieu of wages, day by day, used to carry on a trade on the king's high road with that large number of bowls and (*as above*, down to) jars of various sizes.

185. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya,

Sindhī in the form *mija* or *miju*, in Hindī as *mīṅgī*, in Panjābī as *mijh* or *minjh*; the Hindī has also *bhejā* which might be a corruption of the same word.

269 Lit., '"O long lived one, the tenets of the Ājīviya are the truth, the highest truth, and all the rest are false" thus *believing*'. *Ayamāuso* is a form of address used by a father towards his son or by a teacher towards his pupil; see Comm. to Ov. § 124.

270 Text *kallākalliṃ*, Skr. *kalyaṃ kalyaṃ*, lit. every morning.

271 These were the *ghaḍa*, the ordinary Indian pitcher (see note 30), the *addhaghaḍa*, a small pitcher, about half the size of a *ghaḍa*, and the *kalasa* or large pitcher; further three very large kinds of jars called *aliñjara* or *alañjara* (or *arañjara*, see comm. to § 94), *jambūlayā* and *uṭṭiyā* (see note 30). The last named kind was also used to hold liquors or oil (Comm.). They are now usually called *maṭ'kā*.

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at some time or other, at the time of the midday hour, went to where the little grove of Asoga trees was; and thenceforth he lived in conformity with the law which he had received in the presence of Gosāla Mankhaliputta.

186. Then *one day* in the presence of Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, there appeared a certain deva.

187. Then that deva, standing in mid-air and decked out (*as above*, § 113, down to) with small bells,[272] spoke thus to Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya: "There will come here to-morrow, O beloved of the devas, a great Māhaṇa,[273]

[272] Text *sa-khinkhiṇiyāiṃ*; this is the uniform spelling of the MSS., also in Ov., Nāy., etc. The Pāiyalachchhī, *v.* 273, spells the word *kinkiṇī*, after the Skr. fashion. Hemachandra, in the Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi, v. 665, explains it to mean 'a girdle set with small bells', to which the appendix adds the further meanings: 'a small bell', (*ghargharī*), 'a spell' (*vidyā*), and 'a belief in spells' (*vidyāmati*).

[273] Text *mahā-māhaṇe*, Skr. *mahā-brāhmaṇaḥ*. The comm. gives a fanciful interpretation of the term, saying that the 'māhaṇa' were so called on account of their professing to abstain themselves from any killing (*mā hanmi*, 'I do not kill') or of their telling others to abstain from it (*ma hana* 'do not kill); and that they were called *mahā-māhaṇa* 'great not-killers', if from their birth they had abstained from every description of killing in thought, word or deed. In other places, however, the word is clearly used as a synonym of *brāhmaṇa*, thus in Ov. § 76, the *māhaṇa-parivvāyā* (*brāhmaṇa-parivrājaka*) or brāhmanic monks are opposed to the *khattiya-parivvāyā* (*kṣatriya-parivrājaka*) or monks of the kshatriya caste; again in Kap. § 26, the *māhaṇa* or brāhman Usabhadatta is opposed to the *khattiya* or kshatriya Siddhattha. Accordingly *māhaṇa* is usually taken to be a corruption of *brāhmaṇa* (see Bhag. 396, 416, E. Müller, p. 29, Kap. and Ov., both in the index), and with this I am disposed to agree. There are difficulties, however, both in regard to the interpretation and derivation of the word. As to the former, the term *mahāmāhaṇa* is here applied either to Gosāla who

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who possesses fully formed knowledge and in-

was by birth a 'mankha' or a very low caste man, or to Mahāvīra who was by birth a 'kṣatriya'; neither of them were brāhmans. Nor is this difficulty obviated by taking (as in Ov., Introd., p. 9, footnote 2) *māhaṇa* to include, in a loose way, all ascetics of whatever caste, who held fast to the old vedic-brāhmanic tradition; for even in this wider sense, the term would be inapplicable to both, Mahāvīra and Gosāla. It would almost seem, as if it was this difficulty which led the commentator to dissociate, in this case, *māhaṇa* from *brāhmaṇa* and give it the fanciful meaning above mentioned. Then, as to the derivation of the word, it is strange, that, if *māhaṇa* is a corruption of *brāhmaṇa*, it should not have been noted in Hemachandra's great grammar, nor indeed in any native grammar that I know. The word is too common in the literature of the Jains to have been overlooked by such a well-versed Jain as Hemachandra was. The only Prākrit corruptions of *brāhmaṇa*, that the grammars notice, are *bamhaṇa* or *bāmhaṇa* or *bambhaṇa* (see Hem. I, 67, II, 74, IV, 280, 412, Var. III, 8, VI, 64, Chaṇḍa I, 15, II, 10, 12, 15). It would seem that for them *māhaṇa* was not a corruption of *brāhmaṇa*, but an independent word, which, however, in certain connections was synonymous with *brāhmaṇa*. On the other hand, it is also a noteworthy fact, that the forms *bamhaṇa* or *bambhaṇa* never, so far as I am aware, occur in the literature of the Jains. Only derivatives of *brāhmaṇa*, as also *brahma* and its compounds, are there formed in that fashion; thus *bambhaṇṇaya* for *brāhmaṇya* (Kap. § 10, Bhag. p. 246, Ov. 77), *bambha* for *brahma* (Ov. 163), *bambhachārī* for *brahmachārin* (§ 113, Kap. 118), *bambhaloya* for *brahmaloka* (Ov. 81), but for *brāhmaṇa* uniformly *māhaṇa* is used. In contrast with it, the forms *bamhaṇa* or *bambhaṇa* are always used in the Prākrit literature of the Brāhmans, but never *māhaṇa*. Thus those forms occur, e. g., in the Mṛichchhakaṭikā, pp. 4, 166 (Stenzler's ed.), Vikramorvashī, p. 18, Ratnāvalī, p. 302 (Boehtlingk's Chrestomathy). It is also worth noting that the term *mahā-brāhmaṇa* is only used in a facetious or contemptuous sense in the brāhmanic and buddhistic Sanskrit literature; thus facetiously, in Mṛichchhakaṭikā, p. 18, and Ratnāvalī, p. 302, and contemptuously,

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sight,[274] who knows the past, present and fu-

in the buddhistic work Kāraṇḍavyūha (in the 11th prakaraṇa), where the doorkeepers of Bali admit the Vāmana with the words: *pravisha mahābrāhmaṇa*, i. e., 'enter Mahābrāhmaṇa!' According to a verse, quoted by Bharatamallika, in his commentary to the Bhaṭṭikāvya (canto I, verse 2, *shākhe taile tathā māṃse vaidye jyotiṣike dvije yātrāyāṃ pathi nidrāyāṃ mahach-chhabdo na dīyate*) the word *mahā* may not ordinarily be used with the words meaning 'branch', 'oil', 'flesh', 'physician,' 'astrologer', 'brāhman', 'journey', 'path' and 'sleep', because in composition with these words, it forms technical or proper names; e. g., *mahāmāṃsa* is 'human flesh', *mahānidrā* is 'death'. The word *mahābrāhmaṇa* is, in Bengal, a technical term for those degraded (*patita*) brāhmans who accept the gift of gold in the Shrāddha ceremony (hence also called *agradānī* or 'takers of the first gift'), as well as for the so-called *bhāṭa* brāhmans who live from hire. Possibly the use, by the Jains, of the term *mahāmāhaṇa* (*mahābrāhmaṇa*) for their saints may have occasioned its loss of estimation among the Brāhmans and Buddhists.—With regard to the imperative form *hana*, above quoted from the commentary, it may be noted, that though disallowed in standard Sanskrit (with has *jahi*), it is often used in tantric works (brahmanic as well as buddhistic); e. g., one of the mantras in a tantric homa ceremony runs thus: *chitpingala hana hana daha daha pacha pacha sarvajñājñāpaya svāhā;* i. e., 'O Chitpingala, kill kill, burn burn, cook cook, O Omniscient, command; *svāhā!*'

[274] Text *uppanna-ṇāṇa-daṃsaṇa-dhare*, Skr. *utpanna-jñāna-darshana-dharaḥ;* here *uppanna* 'fully formed' has, according to the comm., the emphatic meaning of *āvaraṇa-kṣayeṇa āvirbhūte*, 'become manifest through the cessation of (all) obstruction.' The obstructions referred to are the *jñān'āvaraṇa* 'obstruction of knowledge,' and *darshan'āvaraṇa* 'obstruction of insight,' the first two of the eight hurtful classes of acts (*karma*). By *jñana* are meant the five kinds of knowledge (see note 132), and by *darshana* the insight or belief in the Jaiṇ system. See Bhag., pp. 166, 169, 258. The whole epithet describes the highest stage of ascetic perfection. The same idea is referred to, in § 74, in the phrase *tad-āvaraṇijjāṇaṃ kammāṇaṃ*

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ture,[275] who is an Arhat,[276] a Jina, a Kevalin,[277]

khaovasamenaṃ ohi-ṇāṇe samuppanne, i. e., 'the *avadhi-jñāna* or supernatural sight was fully formed through the patient endurance of the cessation of (all) acts that tend to obstruct it.'

[275] Text: *tīya-paḍupanna-m-aṇāgaya-jāṇae*, Skr. *atīta-pratyutpann'ānāgata-jñānakaḥ*. The compound contains several irregularities: *tīya* stands for *atīya* (see Bhag., p. 258, E. Müller, p. 20, in modern Hindī only in *gotīt* 'incomprehensible'); *paḍuppanna* for *pachchupanna* which occurs as a 'various reading'; and °*uppanna-m-aṇāgaya* for °*uppannāṇāgaya* which also occurs as a various reading (see Bhag., p. 409, and note 31, above). In *prati*, when followed by a vowel, the conjunct *ty* should regularly be changed to *chch* (see Hem. II, 13, 14), but sometimes *y* is elided, and sometimes the conjunct is dissolved into *tiya*, in either case *t* being changed to *ḍ*; thus here *paḍuppanna*, and in § 218 *paḍochchhanna* for *pratyavachchhanna*; again in § 118 *paḍiuchchāreyavvā* for *pratyuchchārayitavyā* (also Bhag., p. 381), or in § 259 *paḍiyāikkhie* for *pratyākhyāyikaḥ*, so also probably here the reading of MS. B *paḍiya-uppanna* (for *paḍiyuppanna*), so also Ov. 123 *paḍiyāṇanda* for *pratyānanda*, etc. The two anomalous changes of *ty* are not specifically referred to by Hemachandra; but instances of the elision of *y* are incidentally noted; thus Hem. IV, 154 *paḍḍuhaï* for *pratyūhaii* (apparently with doubling of *ḍ* on account of shortening of *ū*), and IV, 107 *paḍiaggaï*, a denominative from *pratyag* or *pratyagra*.

[276] The comm. explains that an Arhat is one who, on account of his worth as a saint (*arhatva*), is the recipient of the homage (*pūjā*) implied in the *mahā-prātihārya* or 'great marvels', or one for whom, on account of his omniscience (*sarvajñatva*), there exists no mystery (*rahas*). The former explanation derives the word from the

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[277] The Jina is uniformly explained to be so called on account of his having obtained the mastery of his passions.—A Kevalin, lit. 'he who is alone or absolute,' is said to be one whose knowledge, etc. are fully developed or unlimited; or as the comment to Bhag., saya 2, uddesa 1, (Calc. print, p. 155*a*) says: 'he is so called *asahāya-jñānatvād*, i. e., 'on account of his unconditioned or absolute knowledge'.

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who knows all and sees all, who is rapturously gazed

Skr. root *arh*, 'to be worthy', and is, of course, the true one. The latter makes the word to be a compound *a-raha*, 'having no mystery'. Both these traditional interpretations are referred to in the Kalpasūtra, § 121, where Mahāvīra is said to have become an *araha* or 'saint' as well as an *a-rahā* or *a-rahassa-bhāgī*, 'omniscient'. The Kalpadruma commentary to that paragraph adds another fanciful derivation, based on the alternative form *arihā*, *viz.*, *ari-ha* or 'killer of the enemies' (*ari-ghātaka*), the enemies being the *rāga* or passions. This derivation would make the word *arihā* a synonym of *jina*. All three explanations are also given by Hemachandra, in his commentary to verse 4 of his Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi (see Böhtlingk's ed., p. 291, where °*atishayāt surendrādi*° should be read for °*atishayān surendrādi*°). The Buddhists give similar explanations of the terms. The Nepalese work *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* (chapt. on *Sabhikāvadāna*) says: *yo griham tyaktvā aklisto vishuddho vijitendriyaḥ sarveṣāṃ hitārthaṃ tapash charati, so arhan parikīrtitaḥ*, i. e., 'who, having left his house, sinless, holy, and with passions subdued, pursues asceticism for the benefit of all, he is well known to be an Arhat'. Similarly, in a Ceylonese work, called *Buddhaada Hilla* or 'the Faith of Buddha', it is said: *arahaṃ rāya-yada dveṣa-yada moha-yada yan kelesuṅ keren durāvuheyinda*, i. e., 'an Arhat is one who has put away these sins, *viz.*, anger, hatred, lust.' The *mahā-prātihārya*, mentioned in the comm. as the cause of the *pūjā* given to an Arhat, are, as the commentary to the fourth verse of the Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi shows, identical with the well-known thirty-four *atishaya* or 'excellencies' (see note 278). According to another, and apparently later, view, however, the number of *mahā-prātihārya* is limited to eight. Thus the printed copy of the commentary to § 187 (Calcutta print, p. 169) reads *aṣṭa-mahāprātihārya-rūpa-pūjā* or 'the reverence implied in the eight great marvels.' Similarly the Kalpadruma by Lakṣmīvallabha, a late commentary on the Kalpasūtra, explains (to Kap. § 121) *arahā* by *aṣṭa-mahāprātihārya-yuktaḥ* or 'furnished with the eight great marvels.' A modern Jain work, in the Hindī language, called the Jina-tattv'ādarsha, also names only 'eight great marvels,' and says: *ashoka-vṛikṣ'ādi aṣṭa mahapratiharya sarva Jaina-logõ mẽ prasiddha*

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at, adored and worshipped by the (*inhabitants of*) the three

haï, i. e., 'the eight great marvels, comprising the Ashoka tree etc., are well-known to all Jains.' It would appear from this statement, that by the 'eight great marvels' are understood those eight of the thirty-four *atishaya* which are usually numbered 24 to 31 (Abhidhaṇa Chintāmaṇi, verses 62, 63), and which are the following: 1, that the Jina is always shaded by an Ashoka tree; 2, that thorns turn down their points before him; 3, that the trees bow to him; 4, that the sound of kettle drums is heard throughout the world; 5, that a favourable wind blows; 6, that birds fly on his right hand (a good omen); 7, that scented rain falls; 8, that a shower of many-coloured (according to others, five-coloured) flowers descends from the sky. It is not clear, however, why these eight phenomena should be singled out as "great marvels" from among the thirty-four *atishaya* all of which are supernatural. Moreover the classification of the marks of a Jina, as given in the Jina-tattvādarsha, is not quite consistent. According to it, the Arhat or Jina is recognisable by the presence of twelve *guṇa* or 'good qualities' and the absence of eighteen *dūṣaṇa* or 'bad qualities.' The twelve good qualities consist of the four *mūlātishaya* or 'fundamental excellencies' and the eight *mahā-prātihārya* or 'great marvels.' The four fundamental excellencies, again, are divided into the *jñān'ātishaya* or 'excellencies of knowledge,' the *vāg-atishaya* or 'excellencies of speech,' the *apāy'āpagam'ātishaya* or 'the excellencies of warding off danger,' and the *pūjā'tishaya* or 'the excellencies of homage.' The excellencies of knowledge consist of the *kevala-jñāna* or 'absolute knowledge' and the *kevala-darshana* or 'absolute insight,' by means of which the Jina is cognizant of everything, general or particular, that is in the act of arising, passing away or subsisting, whether in the present or the future. The excellencies of speech comprise thirty-five items, such as *saṃskāravattva* or 'purity,' *audāttya* or high-pitch,' *agrāmya-tva* or 'refinement' (comm. 'not as rustics'), *megha-gambhīra-ghoṣatva* or 'loud sound like that of thunder,' etc. The excellencies of warding off danger and of homage comprise together thirty-four items. The latter are the well-known thirty-four *atishaya*, usually ascribed to the Jina, and enumerated, e. g., in the Abhidhāna Chintā-

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worlds,[278] who, for the world of the good devas, men and asuras,[279] is an object of worship, praise, honour, respect

mani, vv. 57—64. The excellencies of homage are said to be so called, because, on account of them, the Jina receives the homage of the three worlds. This classification is not quite intelligible; for the twelve *guṇa* are said to consist of the four *mūl'ātishaya* and the eight *mahāprātihārya*; while afterwards the latter are themselves classed in one of the sub-divisions (the *pūjā'tishaya*) of the former. Hemachandra's classification is different. He only mentions thirty-four *pūjā'tishaya* or excellencies of homage' (Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi, vv. 57—64), and thirty-five *vāg-guṇa* or 'good qualities of speech' (ib., vv. 65—71); besides eighteen *doṣa* or 'bad qualities' (ib., vv. 72, 73).

278 Text °*vahiya*°, Skr. *vahita*, is explained by the comm. to mean that 'he is beheld by the three worlds with a fixed gaze of intense curiosity and profound happiness, and with a mind deeply agitated by the sight of the complete assemblage in him of the excellencies constituting his majesty.' By the 'excellencies' are meant the thirty-four *atishaya*, for an enumeration of which see Hemachandra's Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi, v. 57—64, Wilson's Essays (in Asiatic Researches, vol. XVII), pp. 249, 250, Bhag. pp. 307, 314. See also note 276.

279 Text *sa-deva-maṇuy'āsurassa*, Skr. *sa-deva-manuj'āsurasya*. This is the almost uniform spelling of all MSS. here, as well as in the Kalpasūtra (§§ 113, 121, 143), and elsewhere. The MS. G alone reads *sad-deva*°. The comm. explains the phrase as a *bahuvrīhi* compound, thus: *sa-deva-manuj'āsurā yasmin sa sa-deva-manuj'āsuraḥ*, i. e., 'the world in which there are asura together with men and deva, that is called the *sa-deva*° world'; and it adds that this phrase is but a detailed specification of the preceding expression *telokka*, Skr. *trailokya*, 'inhabitants of the three worlds.' A slightly different explanation, as a *karmadhāraya* compound, is given of the same phrase by the Kalpadruma comm. to Kap. § 121; viz., *devaiḥ manujaiḥ asuraiḥ saha tasya sarvalokasya paryāyam*, i. e., 'the circle of the whole world, with its asura, men and deva', (= *deva-manuj'āsura-sahitasya lokasya*). The reading of MS. G, *sad-deva*°, would mean:

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and service, as being something excellent, auspicious, divine and sacred,[280] who is furnished with a wealth of meritorious works;[281] him[282] thou shouldst praise and (*as above*, § 9, down to) wait upon and hospitably invite to a standing provision[283] of stool, plank and bedding." This he said to him for a second and a third time; and having done so, he returned to the place whence he had come.

188. Then to that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, when he was thus spoken to by that deva, there occurred the following inward (etc., *as in* § 66) reflection: "My teacher and instructor in the Law[284] is Mankhaliputta; he must be

'the world in which there are good deva, men and asura.' This would present a rather uncommon use of the term *sat*, as applied to class names. The whole of this phrase, as the comm. explains, is but a detailed specification of the preceding one. The three worlds are those of the deva, men, and asura.

280 For 'sacred' the original has *cheïya*, lit. the sacred shrine of the Jains, see note 4.

281 The word *tachcha* is uniformly identified, in the commentaries, with Skr. *tathya*, so also by Hem. II, 21, who accounts for its anomalous form by its being an 'ancient' (*ārsha*) one. In Pāli, however, *tathya* is correctly represented by *tachchha* (see Childer's Dictionary). The Prākrit *tachcha* would more correctly represent Skr. *tattva* (see Hem. II, 15).

282 Text *taṃ ṇaṃ;* most MSS. read *te ṇaṃ*, which may be taken either as one word *teṇaṃ* 'therefore,' or as two words, *te* being the accusative plural (*majestatis*), referable to the mahāmāhaṇa. But the reading *taṃ ṇaṃ* better agrees with the usual style, *taṃ* being the accusative singular (as in § 188, *taṃ ahaṃ vandissāmi*), though it might also be taken as a conjunction, 'therefore,' as in § 58, *taṃ gachchha ṇaṃ*.

283 Text *pāḍihāriyeṇaṃ*, Skr. *prātihārikeṇaṃ*, a Jain technical term, meaning 'what is always kept ready for the use of some one'; see Ov. Index *sub voce*.

284 Text *dhammāyarie dhammovaesae*, Skr. *dharmāchāryaḥ dharmopadeshakaḥ*, mentioned in Hemachandra's Abhidhana Chintāmaṇi,

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the great Māhaṇa, who possesses fully formed knowledge and insight, and (*as above*, § 187, down to) who is endowed with a wealth of meritorious works; he will quickly come here to-morrow; then I will praise him and (*as above*, § 9, down to) wait on him and hospitably invite him to a standing provision" (and so forth, *as above*, § 187).

189. Then on the morrow (*as above*, § 66, down to) after sunrise, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, (*as above*, § 9, down to) arrived on a visit; and a company of people went out and (*as above*, § 9, down to) stood waiting on him.

190. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, having been informed of this news, reflected thus: "Truly the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, (*as above*, § 2, down to) is staying *here on a visit*; so I will go, and praise the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and (*as above*, § 9, down to) wait on him." Having thus reflected, he bathed (*as above*, § 10, down to), performed precautionary rites, put on a clean state dress, adorned his person with a small number of costly jewels; and then, surrounded by a dense circle of attendant people, he came out of his house. Having done so, he walked right through the midst of the town of Polāsapura, and then proceeded to where the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, was *staying* in the garden Sahassambavaṇa. Having arrived there, he solemnly circumambulated him three times from the left to the right; and having done so, he praised and worshipped him, and (*as above*, § 10, down to) stood waiting on him.

191. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, *expounded the Law* to Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, and to that right great company, *which had come out to hear him*, (*as above*, § 117, down to *where it is said that*) the sermon was finished.

verses 77, 78, as synonyms of *guru*, 'a religious preceptor;' only for *dharmāchārya* it has *anuyogakṛid-āchārya*.

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192. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, addressing[235] Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, spoke to him thus: "Surely, Saddālaputta, yesterday at the time of the midday hour, *having gone* to where the little grove of Asoga trees is, thou wast living (and so forth, *as in* § 185). Then there appeared a certain deva before thee. Then that deva, standing in mid-air, spoke thus: "" O ho, Saddālaputta,"" (here everything *is to be related* exactly *as before*, §§ 187, 188, down to *where it is said*) "" I shall wait on him"". Surely, Saddālaputta, this account is correct?"

Saddālaputta replied: "Yes, it is."

Mahāvīra continued: "Truly, Saddālaputta, this was not said by that deva with reference to Gosāla Mankhaliputta."

193. Then to that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, on being thus spoken to by the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, there occurred the following inward (etc., *as in* § 66) *reflection*: "This Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is the great Māhaṇa who possesses fully formed knowledge and insight, and (*as above*, § 187, down to) who is furnished with a wealth of meritorious works. Truly, therefore, it is better for me, having praised and worshipped the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, to hospitably invite him to a standing provision of stool, plank *and bedding*." Having thus reflected, he instantly rose up,[286] and then praised and worshipped the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra; and having done

[285] *Lit.*, saying: "O Saddālaputta." See note 105.

[286] Text *uṭṭhāe uṭṭhei*, Skr. *utthāya uttiṣṭati*. The first word is usually explained as an instrumental of the feminine noun *utthā* 'rising' (Bhag., pp. 319, 435, Nāy. Index, *sub voce*), on the authority of the native commentators. Thus the comm. to Nāy. § 7, says: *utthānaṃ utthā ūrddhavartanaṃ tayā utthayā uttiṣṭati*, i. e., '*utthā*, a synonym of *utthānam*, means rising up and through this rising up he arose.' With due deference to this authority, I would suggest, that as there is no Sanskrit feminine noun *utthā*, while there is a

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so, he spoke to him thus: "Truly, Reverend Sir, I possess, outside the town of Polāsapura, five hundred potter shops. There do you live in the enjoyment *from me* of a standing provision of stool, plank and bedding."

194. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, accepted that offer of Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, and lived in the five hundred potter shops of Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, in the enjoyment of a standing provision of stool, plank and bedding.

195. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, at some time or other, brought out his air-dried potter's ware from within his workshops; and having done so, he placed them[237] in the heat of the sun.

196. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, spoke thus to Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya: "Saddālaputta, this potter's ware,—how *is it made?*"

197. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, spoke thus to the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra: "This *ware*, Reverend Sir, at the first is clay, after that it is kneaded

Sanskrit masculine noun *uttha*, synonymous with *utthānam*, the form *uṭṭhāe* is more likely to be the dative of the masc. *uṭṭha*, being another survival like the dative *aṭṭhāe* of *aṭṭha* (Skr. artha). The use of the dative to express the object or purpose is extremely common. The phrase literally means: 'he arose for the purpose of arising,' and is intended to express the instantness of the action.

237 Text *dalayaï*, Skr. *dadāti*. The readings usually vary between *dalayaï* and *dalaï*. The former may be regarded as a Xth class formation from the latter. It is certainly not used as a proper causal; and the commentaries always render it by the Skr. primary verb *dadāti*, (e. g., comm. to Ov. § 20). Of course, Saddālaputta himself did not place the ware in the sun, but had it done through his workmen, but no more did he himself bring them out of the shops. Like *nīṇei*, also *dalayaï* is intended to be a primary verb.

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with water,[288] and then it is mixed well together with ashes and dung;[289] then it is placed[290] on the wheel; and finally many bowls and (*as above*, § 184, down to) jars of various sizes are made."

198. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, spoke thus to Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya: "Saddālaputta, this potter's ware,—is it made by dint of exertion and (*as above*, § 166, down to) manly strength; or on the other hand, is it made without exertion and (*as above*, § 166, down to) manly strength?"

199. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, spoke thus to the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra: "Reverend Sir, *it is made* without exertion and (*as above*, § 166,

[288] Text *nimijjaï*, Skr. *nimīyate*, passive of the root *ni-mi*; the verb is repeatedly noted by Hemachandra, *viz.*, *nimaï* (or *numaï*) for Skr. *nyasyati* (Hem. IV, 199, see also IV, 21), and *nimiaṃ* for Skr. *sthāpitam* (Hem. IV, 258). The latter form is also given in Dhanapāla's Nāmamāla, verse 193, as a synonym of *nihiyaṃ* (Skr. *nihitam*) or *nikkhittaṃ* (Skr. *nikṣiptam*). It also occurs in the Saptashataka, verse 939, *gaṇḍatthala-ṇimiaṃ diṭṭhiṃ* 'the gaze fixed on the cheek,' where the comm. also explains it by Skr. *sthāpitam*. The real Skr. equivalents, of course, are *nimitam* and *niminoti* (the regular Prākrit form of which one would expect to be *nimiṇaï*), from the root *nimi*, which means 'to fix, settle.' The word, therefore, here literally means: 'it is fixed', 'it is made firm or tough or tenacious (with water).'

[289] Text *chhāreṇa*, *kariseṇa*, Skr. *kṣāreṇa*, *karīṣeṇa*. The former is explained by the Guj. paraph. to mean *rākhi*, Hindī *rākh*, 'ashes,' especially of cowdung. The latter is explained, *ibid.*, to be *nānhī mīg'ṇī* (Hindī *mĩg'nī* or *mẽg'nī*), the small globules of goats' or sheep's dung. In Hindī the word is *karas* or *karasī*, and is used also of the sweepings of dung from a cowshed.

[290] Some MSS. read *ārobhijjaï* or *ārubhijjaï* instead of *ārohijjaï* or *āruhijjaï*. On the radical form *rubh*, see E. Müller's *Beiträge*, p. 33.

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down to) manly strength; *for* there is no *such thing as* exertion and (*as above*, § 166, down to) manly strength, *but* all things are unalterably fixed."

200. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, spoke thus to Sadālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya: "Saddālaputta, if any one of thy men were to steal thy unbaked or baked potter's ware, or scatter it about, or make holes in it, or let it drop into pieces, or place it outside *unguarded*, or if he were to indulge in outrageous familiarities with thy wife Aggimittā, what punishment wouldst thou inflict on that man?"

Saddālaputta replied: "Reverend Sir, that man I should curse or beat or tie up or frighten or threaten or cuff or fine or bully, or even before his time deprive him of his life."

Mahāvīra continued: "Saddālaputta, truly none of thy men can steal thy unbaked or baked potter's ware or (*as above*, down to) place it outside *unguarded*, or indulge in outrageous familiarities with thy wife Aggimittā; nor oughtest thou to curse that man or beat him or (*as above*, down to) even before his time deprive him of his life, if *it is true that* there is no *such thing as* exertion or (*as above*, § 166, down to) manly strength, and *that* all things are unalterably fixed. But I *maintain, that* any one of thy men can *steal and* (*as above*, down to) place outside *unguarded* thy unbaked, (*etc.*) *potter's ware*, and that thou canst curse that man and (*as above*, down to) deprive him *of his life*. Therefore, what thou sayest, that there is no *such thing as* exertion (*as above*, § 166, down to) manly strength, and that all things are unalterably fixed, that *saying* of thine is false."

201. At this point, that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, became fully convinced *of the truth of what Mahāvīra had said.*

202. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, praised and worshipped the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra;

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and having done so, he spoke to him thus: "I desire, Reverend Sir, in your presence to hear the Law."

203. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, expounded the Law to Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, and to that *right great company* (and so forth, *as in* § 11).

204. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, having listened and attended to the Law in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and being happy and pleased (*as above*, § 11, down to) in his heart, took on himself the law of a householder. (He did this, like Āṇanda; only *that he limited himself to a treasure of* one kroṛ *measures* of gold deposited *in a safe place, a capital of* one kroṛ *measures* of gold put out on interest, a well-stocked estate of the value of one kroṛ *measures* of gold, and one herd consisting of ten thousand head of cattle; *all this should be related, as in* §§ 13-58, down to *where it is said that*) he praised and worshipped the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra; and having done so, he returned to where the town of Polāsapura was. Having returned, and walking right through the midst of the town of Polāsapura, he came to where his wife Aggimittā was in his house; and having done so, he spoke thus to his wife Aggimittā: "Truly, O beloved of the devas, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra (*as above*, § 9 down to) has arrived *on a visit*; so now do thou go and praise and (*as above*, § 9, down to) wait on the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and in his presence take on thyself the twelvefold law of a householder which consists of the five lesser vows and the seven disciplinary vows."

205. Then that wife of his, Aggimittā, saying "so be it," respectfully accepted that direction of Saddālaputta, *who was now* a servant of the Samaṇa.[291]

[291] Here is a distinct instance of two different recensions. Abhayadeva, when writing his commentary (q. v.) had a different recen-

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206. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, called his domestic servants; and having done so, he spoke *to them* thus: "Be quick, O beloved of the devas, and let the state vehicle[292] be yoked by skilful men,[293] with a pair of excellent young bulls, matching each other in hoofs, tails and symmetrically marked horns, adorned with neck-ropes *set*

sion before him, which omitted §§ 206 and 207 entirely. Its reading must have run thus: § 205, *tae naṃ sā Aggimittā bhāriyā Saddālaputtassa samaṇovāsayassa* "*taha*" *tti eyam-aṭṭhaṃ viṇaeṇa paḍisuṇeï*, 2 *ttā* (§ 208) *ṇhāyā jāva pāyachchhittā*, etc. He was acquainted, however, with the recension given in the MSS. on which the present text is founded, and which he refers to as being *pustakāntare*, 'in another book.' Similarly his recension omitted the passage describing Mahāvīra as a *mahā-dhammakahī* in § 218.

[292] Text *dhammiyaṃ jāṇa-pavaraṃ*, Skr. *dhārmikaṃ yāna-pravaram*. The word *dhammiya* occurs, with a similar use, in Ov. § 42, where the Skr. comm. explains it by *dharmaṇi niyukta*. There is no exact equivalent in English for the terms *dharma*, *dhārmika*. The meaning here appears to be that the vehicle was one that was set apart for use on occasions of ceremony, such as going to hear the Law. It seems, therefore, best expressed by 'state vehicle' or 'state carriage.'

[293] This is, according to the comm., the meaning of the phrase *lahu-karaṇa-jutta-joïyam*, Skr. *laghu-karana-yukta-yojitam*. It says the vehicle was 'caused to be yoked (*sambandhita*) with harness, pole, etc. (*yantra-yūp'ādi*) by men who were furnished (*yukta*) with dexterity (*dakṣatva* = *laghu-karaṇa*.)' The Gujarātī paraph., however, (here as well as in § 59) refers the phrase *lahu-karaṇa-jutta*, not to the stable-servants, but to the vehicle itself in the sense of 'fast-going.' For it says: *śhīgra chhe veg jeh'no, eh'vo rath tumhe jot'ro*, i. e., 'do you yoke that carriage, the speed of which is fast.' Literally the construction of the whole passage is: 'do you cause to be brought (*uvaṭṭhaveha*) the vehicle (*jāṇa-pavaraṃ*) which is caused to be yoked (°*joïyaṃ*) with a pair of oxen (°*goṇa-juvaṇehiṃ*) and which is well appointed (°*lakkhaṇovaveyaṃ*)', etc.

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with golden tassels,[294] controlled with a bridle *attached* to their head-ropes of cotton thread intertwined with gold and provided with silver bells,[295] and hung with garlands[296] made of blue lotuses; and having been thus yoked, let it be brought here, hung round with a network of golden bells and

[294] This I take to be the meaning of the phrase according to the commentary. The Gujarātī paraph. would seem to make the neck-ropes themselves to be made of golden threads. It says: *jāmbūnada ch've nāmā ratna, tiṇ ne jotra balad ne gale tumhe bā̃dho*, i. e., 'jāmbūnada are jewels of that name, do you bind ropes (made) of these round the necks of the bullocks'. The *kalāva* are bundles or skeins of thread. When coloured with safflower, they form one of the usual Indian wedding presents (Grierson, § 1381). Here apparently tassels are meant, made of thread covered with gold. On the *jotta* or 'neck-rope,' see Grierson, § 196.

[295] The *nattha* or 'headrope' is so called, because it passes through the animal's nose. The bridle is attached to it near the nose. See Grierson, § 112, and the accompanying plates. The bells are usually attached to the neck-rope; they serve to give warning of the approach of the vehicle.—*Khaïya*, Skr. *khachita*; the MSS. here read *khachiya* or *khaṃchiya*; the usual reading is *khachiya* (see, e. g., Ov. § 38, Nāy. §§ 37, 65, 122, Kap. § 59), but the preservation of *ch* is quite irregular, and probably led to the insertion of the anuswāra in the reading *khaṃchiya*, as there is a Skr. word *kanchita* with a similar meaning. The reading *khaïya*, which some MSS. give, is undoubtedly the only correct one.

[296] *Mellachiṃ*, Skr. *mālyakebhiḥ*, with garlands'. The MSS. differ greatly in the reading of this word. The reading of MS. G *mālachiṃ*, Skr. *mālakebhiḥ*, is evidently an emendation, made in default of understanding the ordinary readings. But the form *mellaya*, though unusual, is formed regularly after the analogy of *āchchhera* for Skr. *āshcharya*, *metta* for Skr. *mātra*, etc. Hemachandra gives only the form *malla* for *mālya* (Hem. II, 79), which would seem to show that he read *mallachiṃ* here and in similar places.

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various *kinds of* jewels, provided with a suitable, straight, excellent, well made and well fixed pole of good wood and *altogether* furnished with an excellent equipment.[297] When this is done, bring back *word to me that* my order *is carried out*." [298]

207. Then those domestic servants (*as above*, § 206, down to) brought back word *that his order was carried out.*

208. Then that wife of his, Aggimittā, having bathed (*as above*, § 10, down to), performed precautionary rites,[299]

[297] Text °*lakkhaṇovaveyaṃ*, Skr. °*lakṣaṇopapetaṃ*; this is the reading of the comm. to Bhag., saya II, uddesa 1 (p. 156*a* in the Calcutta print), which explains: *upapetam upa-apa-i ity etasya sthāne nirukti-vashād upapetaṃ bhavati*, i. e., 'according to the rules of etymology *upa* with *apetam* forms *upapetam*.' Weber suggests (Bhag., p. 260) that it is an irregular form for *upavītam*. The reference, in the expression *nirukti-vashāt*, is probably to the well-known verse *varṇ'āgamo varṇa-viparyayash cha dvau ch'āparau varṇa-vikāra-nāshau dhātos tad-arth'āpagamena bodhas tad uchyate pancha-vidhaṃ niruktam*, i. e., 'the derivation of words may be explained in five different ways, by the addition of a vowel, the transposition of a vowel, the change and loss of a vowel, and the alteration of the meaning of a root.'

[298] Text *eyam āṇattiyaṃ pachchappiṇaha*, Skr. *etām ājñaptikām pratyarpayata*. The comm. to Ov. § 40 (p. 175, Calc. print) explains the phrase thus: *ājñaptikām ājñāṃ pratyarpaya, sampādya mama nivedaya*, i. e., 'deliver back the order, that is, having carried it out, inform me (of the fact of having done so).'

[299] Text *pāyachchhittā*. The comm. explains this by Skr. *prāyash-chitta*, and this is the usual interpretation of the commentaries. Only the commentary to Kap. § 66 (quoted in Jacobi's edition, p. 108) gives as an alternative interpretation the Skr. *pāda-chhupta*, 'touched with the feet,' which act is there said to insure protection against the effects of the 'evil eye.' In Bengal there is a belief that so long as one touches the earth with one's feet, one is safe from the evil eye. On the Pr. form *chhitta* for Skr. *chhupta* see Hem. IV, 258, where it is given as the equivalent of the Skr.

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put on a clean state dress,[300] and adorned her person with a small number of costly jewels,[301] proceeded, surrounded by

spriṣṭa 'touched.' Regarding the interpretation by Skr. *prāyashchitta*, the comm. says that it refers to the application of collyrium (*maṣī*) to the eyes, and vermilion to the head (the *puṇḍra* or *tilaka* or 'mark' of a married woman), and to the putting of curds or rice or sandal powder, etc. to the forehead; and these acts are called so, because they are like a *prāyashchitta* or 'expiation.' As the latter is performed to ensure protection against the consequences of sin, so the former acts are resorted to to insure protection against evils, such as unlucky dreams, etc., or as Lakṣmī Vallabha's comment on Kap. § 104 says: *vighna-nivāraṇāya*, 'to ward off evils.'—On these and similar precautionary rites, especially as used on the occasion of marriage, see Grierson's *Bihār Peasant Life*, §§ 1303—1353.

300 Text *suddhappāvesāiṃ*. The MSS. vary between this and *suddhapāvesāiṃ* and *suddhappavesāiṃ*; but that the first is the correct reading, is clearly shown by the explanations of the comm. Here Abhayadeva explains it by Skr. *shuddhātmā-vaiṣikāṇi*, *i. e.*, '(clothes) fit to adorn (*veṣ'ārhāṇi*) a purified person.' In his comm. on the Ovavāiya Sutta (§ 17 on p. 61 of the Calcutta print), however, Abhayadeva adds an alternative interpretation of the phrase; *viz.*, that it is Skr. *shuddha-prāveshyāni*, *i. e.*, '(clothes which are) clean and fit to be worn on occasion of entering a king's court' (*rāja-sabhā-pravesh'ochitāni*). Both interpretations are also given in the comm. to Kap. § 66, quoted in Jacobi's edition, p. 108. On the other hand, the later commentary of Lakṣmī Vallabha, in its comment on Kap. § 66, admits only the latter interpretation of a 'clean state dress,' and in its comment on Kap. § 104, explains the word simply by *navīna*, 'fresh (clothes).' It would appear, that the former interpretation was in later times abandonned. This, no doubt, was correct.

301 The Kalpadruma, Lakṣmī Vallabha's comm. to the Kalpa Sūtra, explains (ad Kap. § 66) the phrase *appa-mah'aggha* differently, by *alpa-maulyāni bahu-maulāni*, *i. e.*, '(jewels) of small value and of great value.' Jacobi, in his translation of Kap. § 66, gives a third interpretation: 'small but costly ornaments.'

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a circle of maid-servants, to ascend the state vehicle; and having done so, she drove out of the town of Poḷāsapura, *passing* right through the midst of it, and went to where the Sahassambavaṇa garden was. Having arrived there, she descended from the state vehicle, and then, still surrounded by the circle of her maid-servants, she advanced to where the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, was *staying*. Having done so, she *circumambulated him* three times *and* praised and worshipped him; and then remaining at a distance, not too near nor too far from him, (*and so forth*, down to) joining the palms of her hands in a suppliant manner, she stood devoutly[302] waiting on him.

209. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, preached the Law to Aggimittā and to that *right great company* (and so forth, *as in* § 11).

210. Then that wife of his, Aggimittā, having listened and attended to the Law, in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, being *now* happy and pleased, praised and worshipped the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra; and having done so, she spoke to him thus: "I believe, Reverend Sir, the Naigganṭha doctrine (*as above*, § 12, down to) it is so as you have declared it.[303] Still though, *admitting this*,

[302] Text *ṭhiyā cheva*, Skr. *sthitā eva*, lit. 'being in the very act of standing.' MS. G reads *ṭhiyā jāva*; but from a comparison of parallel passages, nothing appears to be omitted to which *jāva* could refer. *Cheva* is simply intended to emphasize her posture, which may be expressed by the translation 'standing devoutly.'

[303] The drift of this passage is thus explained in the comm. to Bhag., saya II, uddesa 1 (p. 131*b*, in the Calcutta print): first the act of faith is described by various terms; next the contents of the faith are also described by various terms. The meaning in outline is: 'I believe (*saddahāmi*, etc.), that it is so (*evam eyam*, etc.), as you say (*jah'eyaṃ tubbhe vadaha*).' Or the passage may be taken as describing in its first portion the speaker's belief, and in its second expressing her respect for Mahāvīra.

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many people of the Ugga and Bhoga[304] (and other) castes have in your presence, O beloved of the devas, (*as above*, § 12, down to) entered *into the monastic state*, yet I cannot

[304] Text *uggā bhogā*, Skr. *ugrāḥ bhogāḥ*. This is the commencement of a standing phrase which contains a long list of castes or classes of people. The remainder of it will be found in Ov. §§ 23 and 38, Kap. § 211. Among them are also specially named the *Nāya*, or the kshattriyas of the Jñātṛi clan, to which Mahāvīra belonged; see note 8. The comm. to Ov. §§ 23, 38, as well as that to Kap. § 211 and Nāy. § 127, describes the Ugga as being *rakṣa-vaṃsha-ja*, lit., 'men of the guards' class.' The Gujarātī paraph. to Ov. § 38 calls them 'kṣattriyas' (*ghaṇā ugra-kul nā ūp'nā kṣatriya*, i. e., 'many kṣattriyas born in the Ugra-race'), and that to Ov. § 23 says that they were *koṭ'wāl-paṇaī thāpā hutā*, i. e., 'employed in the position of a koṭ'wāl or police officer.' The latter remark is also made in the Kalpadruma commentary on Kap. § 18, which says that they were *koṭṭapālitve 'vasthāpitāḥ*. The Bhoga are described in the same comm. as *guru-vaṃsha-ja*, lit., 'men of the guru class', and in the Gujarātī paraph. to Ov. § 23 as *pūjyasthān karī thāpā*, i. e., 'appointed as objects of worship.' With respect to both classes of people all the Skr. commentaries add that they were *ādi-devena* (or *ādi-nāthena* or *adīshvareṇa* or *ādināthasvaminā*) *avasthāpita* (or *niyukta*), *i. e.* 'appointed by the Ādideva' (*i. e.*, the Jina or Mahāvīra) in their respective occupations. I can learn nothing as to the exact force of this phrase; it seems to indicate, however, that they were considered 'natural divisions of people' or hereditary classes or castes. I am not quite satisfied as to the identity of the two classes. According to Manu X, 9, 49 the 'Ugra' were a mixed caste, sprung from a kshatriya father and a sūdra mother (so also in the Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi, *v.* 896), who lived by catching and killing animals living in holes. There is a Rājpūt clan (*gotra*) called 'Uga', still existing in the Mallānī State, on the borders of Marwār and Sindh (see the *Rājpūtānā Gazeteer*, p. 275, also Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. III, p. 46). I cannot find them named anywhere else, but I may add that I am told by Paudit

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do the same, and, in your presence, O beloved of the devas, submitting to the tonsure, (*as above*, § 12, down to) *enter the monastic state*. But I will, in your presence, O beloved of the devas, take on myself the twelvefold law of a householder, which consists of the five lesser vows and the seven disciplinary vows. May it so please you, O beloved of the devas; do not deny me!"

211. Then that wife of his, Aggimittā, in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, took on herself the twelvefold law of a Sāvaga, consisting of the five lesser vows and the seven disciplinary vows; and having done so, she praised and worshipped the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra; and then she ascended *again* that state vehicle; and having done so, she returned to the place whence she had come.

212. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, at some time or other, departed from the Sahassambavaṇa *garden* and *the town of* Polāsapura; and having done so, he abode elsewhere in a different country.

213. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, devoted himself to mastering *the discrimination of* the living and lifeless (and so forth, *as in* § 64).

Hara Prasāda Shāstrī, that there is a class of people (mostly agriculturists) in Bengal, commonly called 'Āgurī', who claim to be Ugra kshatriyas. They fall into two divisions, popularly called 'Jānā' and 'Sūt', of whom the former assume the 'janeo' or sacrificial thread before marriage, but not the latter. These Sūts may be those, described in Manu X, 11, 17, (and Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi, *v.* 898) as sprung from a kshatriya father and brāhmanī mother, and hence constituting a lower caste. Regarding the Bhoga I have not been able to obtain any information, save the solitary notice in Sherring (*ibidem*, vol. II, p. xxiv) of a class of brāhmans in the Panjāb, called 'Bhog'. The Jains of these parts know nothing about them.

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214. Then that Gosāla Mankhaliputta, having been informed of this news, reflected thus: "Truly, Saddālaputta, having eschewed the tenets of the Ājīviyas, has adopted the views of the Nigganthas. So I will go, and having made Saddālaputta, *who used to be* a servant of the Ājīviya, to eschew the views of the Niggantha ascetics, I will make him adopt once more the views of the Ājīviyas." Having thus reflected, he proceeded, surrounded by a company of his Ajīviyas, to where the place of assembly of the Ājīviyas was in the town of Polāsapura. Having arrived there, he deposited his begging bowl,[305] and then proceeded with some of his Ājīviyas to where Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, was *staying*.

215. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, observed Gosāla Mankhaliputta, as he was approaching; and having done so, he neither honoured[306] him, nor *even*

[305] Text *bhaṇḍaga-nikkhevaṃ kareï*, Skr. *bhāṇḍaka-nikṣepaṃ karoti*. Gosāla professed to be emphatically a 'mendicant' or *ājīviya*, and possessed absolutely nothing but a begging-bowl. That he owned no clothes whatever, may be seen from the story of his getting beaten by the women of a village in Magadha on account of his nudity. (See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XVII, p. 253).

[306] Text *āḍhāï*, Skr. *ardhayati*. The MSS. give this root in three different forms, *viz. āḍhā* (3. sg. *āḍhāï*, part. pres. act. *āḍhāmāne*, part. pres. pass. *āḍhāijjamāṇe* in § 216), or *āḍha* (3. sing. *āḍhaï* as in MS. A, part. pres. pass. *āḍhijjamāṇe* as in MSS. BDE in § 216), or *āḍhāya* (part. pres. act. *āḍhāyamāṇe* as in MSS. AF). See also the various readings in §§ 246, 247. The MSS. of Steinthal's edition of the *Nāyādhammakahāo* appear also to favour both forms *āḍhā* (3. sing. *āḍhāï* in § 69) and *āḍhāya* (part. pres. act. *āḍhāyamāṇī* in § 69; the part. pass. *āḍhāijjamāṇio* in § 72 may be referred to both radical forms). From the variations of the MSS. it is difficult to decide which of the three forms is to be accepted as the really correct one, unless indeed all three are equally correct. Hemachandra would seem to have considered the form *āḍha* to

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acknowledged him, but without honouring or acknowledging him, he remained sitting silently.

216. Then that Gosāla Mankhaliputta, on being neither honoured nor *even* acknowledged by Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, began, with the object of obtaining *the usual provision of* a stool, plank and bedding, to tell the praises of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and spoke thus to Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa: "A great Māhaṇa, O beloved of the devas, has arrived here."

217. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, spoke thus to Gosāla Mankhaliputta: "Who is that great Māhaṇa, O beloved of the devas?"

218. Then that Gosāla Mankhaliputta spoke thus to Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa: "The Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is the great Māhaṇa."

Saddālaputta enquired: "For what reason, O beloved of the devas, do you say that the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra is a great Māhaṇa?"

Gosāla replied: "Truly, Saddālaputta, the Samāṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is a great Māhaṇa, who possesses fully formed knowledge and insight, (*as above*, § 187, down to) adored and worshipped *by the three worlds*, and (*as above*, § 187, down to) who is furnished with a wealth of meritorious works. So, for this reason, O beloved of the devas, I say

be the correct one, for in I, 143 he gives *āḍhio* as the past part. pass. From the same rule of his, it is seen that he considered the participle *āḍhio* to be a corruption of the Skr. *ādṛitaḥ*. His identification of the Prāk. root *āḍ'a* with the Skr. root *ādṛi* appears to have been the traditional one; for the Skr. comm. to Nāy. § 69 explains *āḍhāi* by Skr. *ādriyate*. E. Müller (in *Beiträge*, p. 57) identifies it with the Skr root *ārādh*. Neither identification appears to me tenable. I would prefer identifying the Prākrit root *āḍha* (or *āḍhā* or *āḍhāya*) with the Skr. causal *ardhaya* (of root *ṛidh*) or *ārdhaya* (of root *ā-ṛidh*), in the sense of a synonym of *arhaya* (causal of root *arh*).

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that the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is a great Māhaṇa. Yea, beloved of the devas, a great Guardian[307] has arrived."

Saddālaputta enquired: "Who is that great Guardian, O beloved of the devas?"

Gosāla replied: "The Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is the great Guardian."

Saddālaputta again enquired: "For what reason, O beloved of the devas, (*as above*, down to) the great Guardian?"

Gosāla replied: Truly, O beloved of the devas, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, protects and guards, with his staff of the Law, all the numerous living beings that, in the wilderness of the world, are straying or perishing, being devoured or cut asunder or pierced through or mutilated or castrated,[308] and with his own hand brings them to the great fold of the Nirvāṇa. It is for this reason, Saddālaputta, that I say, that the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is the great Guardian. Yea, O beloved of the devas, a great Guide has arrived."

Saddālaputta enquired: "Who, O beloved of the devas, is that great Guide?"

307 Text *gove*, Skr. *gopaḥ*, lit. 'a cow-keeper'; comm. *go-rakṣakaḥ* 'a guardian or keeper of cows'.

308 The comm. explains that the word 'devoured' refers to animals, such as deer, etc., that are devoured by tigers and other wild animals. The following words refer to men who are cut asunder with a sword, or pierced through with a spear, or deprived of their ears or noses, or expelled from their caste or sect. The last word *viluppamāṇa* (Skr. *vilupyamāna*) is, in the comm., explained by *vāhy'opadhy-apahārataḥ* '(mutilated) by the removal of the external marks of distinction.' The word *upadhi* seems here to be used in the sense of *upādhi* or 'a distinctive mark.' The idea of castration seems best to suit the context; though the reference might also be to the distinctive marks of a sect or caste (such as the sacred thread and top-knot of a brāhman), the removal of which is equivalent to the excommunication of a person from his sect or caste. Such excommunication is held to be worse than death.

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Gosāla replied: "Saddālaputta, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is the great Guide."

Saddālaputta again enquired: "For what reason?"

Gosāla replied: "Truly, O beloved of the devas, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, keeps safely on the path of the Law all those numerous living beings, that, in the wilderness of the world, are straying or perishing (*as above,* down to) being castrated, and with his own hand brings them straight to the great city of the Nirvāṇa. It is for this reason, Saddālaputta, that I say that the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is a great Guide. Yea, O beloved of the devas, a great Preacher has arrived here."

Saddālaputta enquired: "Who is that great Preacher, O beloved of the devas?"

Gosāla replied: "The Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is the great Preacher."

Saddālaputta again enquired: "For what reason is the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, a great Preacher?"

Gosāla replied: "Truly, O beloved of the devas, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, by means of many theses and (*as above,* § 174, down to) explanations, with his own hand delivers from the vast wilderness of the world all those numerous living beings that, in this right great world, are straying or perishing, because, overwhelmed by the power of falsehood and overcast by the dense darkness of the eightfold *kinds of* works,[809] they have lost the true path and got on to a wrong road. It is for this reason, O beloved of the devas, that I say that the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is a great Preacher. Yea, O beloved of the devas, a great Pilot has arrived here."

Saddālaputta enquired: "Who is that great Pilot, O beloved of the devas?"

[809] On the eight kinds of works see note 274, also Bhag., p. 116.

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Gosāla replied: "The Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is the great Pilot."

Saddālaputta again enquired: "For what reason?"

Gosāla replied: "Truly, O beloved of the devas, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, by means of his boat of the Law, with his own hands brings straight to the shore of the Nirvāṇa all those numerous living beings that, on the great sea of the world, are straying or perishing[310] by sinking or drowning or floating. It is for this reason, O beloved of the devas, that I say that the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is a great Pilot."

219. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, spoke thus to Gosāla Mankhaliputta: "You, O beloved of the devas, that are so clever, so penetrating, so sagacious, so well instructed and so full of knowledge, are you able to to hold a disputation with my teacher and instructor in the Law, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra?"

310 The MSS. repeat here, or direct for repetition, the whole of the phrase about "being devoured and castrated," which was said at the beginning of the paragraph with regard to the great Guardian and Guide. The same is done in the MSS. with regard to the great Preacher. It is quite clear, however, from the context, that both with regard to the great Preacher and the great Pilot, the repetition of the full phrase is out of place. For the expression *khajjamāṇa* 'being devoured' is said, in the comm., to apply to animals, with whom the office of Preacher can hardly be said to have any concern. Again, 'to be devoured, or to be cut asunder, or to be castrated,' cannot well be enumerated among the dangers of seafaring from which the 'great Pilot' is to protect the 'living beings.' The two words *nassamāṇe* and *viṇassamāṇe*, of course, are appropriate, and this probably led to the thoughtless addition of the remainder of the standing phrase, by careless scribes. The structure of the text itself, in fact, shows the true state of things: the two words *nassamāṇe* and *viṇassamāṇo* are common to the description of all four titles of Mahāvīra (Guardian, Guide,

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Gosāla replied: "No, indeed, I am not."[311]

Saddālaputta again enquired: "For what reason, O beloved of the devas, do you say that you are not able to hold a disputation with my teacher in the Law, (*as above,* down to) Mahāvīra?"

Gosāla replied: "Saddālaputta, any man, whatsoever his name, whether he be in his youth or in full manhood, (*and so forth,* down to) if he is experienced in the subtle arts, can prevent a goat or sheep or pig or cock or black partridge or grey quail or bush-quail or pigeon or grey

Preacher, Pilot), but the place of the five words (*khajjamāṇe,* to *viluppamāṇe*), used in the description of the two titles Guardian and Guide, is taken up, in the description of the other two titles of Preacher and Pilot, by two different sets of words consisting of four and three words respectively, *viz.,* four (*ummagg*° to *aṭṭhaviha*°) in the case of the Preacher, and three (*vuddamāṇe* to *uppiyamāṇe*) in the case of the Pilot.

311 Text *no tin'aṭṭhe samaṭṭhe.* This is the reading of MSS. ABD; but MSS. EG read *no iṇ'aṭṭhe samaṭṭhe,* and MS. F reads *no iṇa-m-aṭṭhe samaṭṭhe.* With reference to my note 107, I wish to add, that if Hem. III, 85 is really to be taken as enjoining the form *iṇam* as a nom. masc. singular (see E. Müller, *Beiträge,* p. 55), the rule is probably founded on such readings as that exhibited by MS. F. In that case, however, Hemachandra's rule is based on a misunderstanding; for in the phrase *iṇam aṭṭhe,* the consonant *m* is not the nominative inflection of *iṇa,* but an euphonic letter (see note 31). Such a misunderstanding would be somewhat strange on Hemachandra's part. It appears to me, therefore, more probable that in III, 85 he intended *iṇam* to be the nom. sing. neuter of *etad;* and that, if he wanted to teach any nom. sing. masculine at all, it would have been *iṇa.* Regarding the main point at issue, the reading *iṇam,* if the final *m* of it is to be taken as an inflection, would rather favour its interpretation as an instrumental form. I may add, that there is no intrinsic improbability of the existence of a nom. sing. masc. *iṇa,* corresponding to the acc. sing. masc. *iṇam* (as in

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partridge or crow or hawk,[312] from moving or stirring with

· *iṇam akkhevaṃ puchchhe*, comm. *etad ākṣepaṃ pṛiṣṭavān*, Bhag., 250); only, excluding the present disputed phrase, there is no evidence for it.

[312] Among the birds here mentioned, the *kavinjala* alone presents a difficulty. The Skr. comm. only defines it as a *pakṣi-visheṣo loka-prasiddhaḥ*, 'a kind of well-known bird'. The Guj. paraph. identifies it with *pārevō* 'a pigeon'. The only reason for this identification would seem to be the fact, that the *kavinjala* is mentioned immediately after the *kavaya* 'a pigeon'. But, now-a-days at least, there is no difference between a *kabutar* (*kavaya*) and a *parevā*; these two words are synonymous terms for 'a pigeon'. In the text, however, obviously two different kinds of birds are intended. Sanskrit dictionaries identify the *kapinjala* with the francoline partridge or the *tittira* (M. Williams), or with a species of grouse or the hazel-hen (Roth). The objection against the former identification is the special mention of the *tittira* in the list; against the latter is the fact that India possesses no species of true grouse, (see Jerdon's *Birds of India*, vol. II, p. 547). In the new edition of the Shabdakalpadruma it is said that, according to the Trikāṇḍasheṣa, the *kavinjala* is a kind of partridge (*tittira-pakṣī*), and that the Bhāvaprakāsha specifies it to be the 'grey partridge' (*gaura-tittira*); on the other hand the Rāja-nirghaṇṭa explains it vaguely as 'a kind of bird' (*pakṣi-visheṣa*). It seems clear that the exact identity of the *kavinjala* was no more known; but the weight of opinion inclines to making it a kind of partridge, which together with the grouse belongs to the family *tetraonidœ*. The grey partridge is still called the *gorā tītar* (or often simply *tītar*; Jerdon, *ib.*, vol. II, p. 569). Its Telugu name is *kawunzu* (as spelled by Jerdon, *ibid.*); and this is evidently the original of the Prākrit *kavinjala* (*la* being the well-known pleonastic suffix), and next, of the Skr. *kapinjala*, with all its fanciful derivations from *kapi* or *pinjala* or *pingala* 'monkey'. The only difficulty attaching to the identification of *kavinjala* with the grey partridge is its position in the list, away from *tittira* and after *kavaya*. This, however, might be variously accounted for, even if it be assumed that its present position is the original one.—The *tittira*,

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its hands[313] or feet or hoofs or tail or feathers or horns or tusks or hair, wherever he may catch hold of it. In like manner, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, can refute my theories by means of many theses, arguments (*as above*, § 174, down to) explanations wherever he gets hold of me. It is for this reason, Saddālaputta, that I say that I am not able to hold a disputation with thy teacher in the Law (*as above*, § 73, down to) Mahāvīra."

220. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, spoke thus to Gosāla Mankhaliputta: "Since you have told, O beloved of the devas, the praises of my teacher in the Law (*as above*, § 73, down to) Mahāvīra, regarding things that are true, real, genuine and actual, therefore I *now* hospitably invite you to a standing provision of stool, plank and bedding. But *do not think that* it is an act of duty or of penance.[314] So you may go *now* into my potter shops and live there in the enjoyment of a standing provision of stool, plank and bedding."

221. Then that Gosāla Mankhaliputta, accepted this offer of Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa; and having done so, he lived in the potter shops in the enjoyment of a standing provision of stool, plank and bedding.

Hindī *tītar*, is the common francoline or black partridge (Jerdon, ib., p. 558). The *vaṭṭaya* is the Hindī *baṭer*, the common grey quail (*obturnix communis*, Jerdon, *ib.*, p. 586). The *lāvaya* is the Hindī *lāvā*, the rock bush-quail (*perdicula asiatica*, Jerdon, *ib.*, p. 583), properly a kind of dwarf partridge.—The name *seṇaya* is very variously spelled in the MSS; but I believe the Skr. *syena* is intended, 'a hawk'. The word is now no more in use.

313 *I. e.*, 'forefeet', as the comm. explains.

314 He means that Gosāla is not to think, that his act is an indication of a change of mind on his part, and of a return to his old allegiance to Gosāla.

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222. Then that Gosāla Mankhaliputta, seeing that he was not able, in spite of much talking, explaining, persuading and ingratiating, to cause Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, to depart from, or to swerve from, or to transgress against the doctrine of the Niggantha, *and* being now weary, tired and disappointed *with his efforts*, departed from the town of Polāsapura; and having done so, he abode elsewhere in a different country.

223. Then fourteen years passed by, during which that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, sanctified himself by many exercises in the moral restraints (and so forth, *as in* § 66); and when he was in the middle of the fifteenth year, at the time of the midnight hour (*as before*, §§ 66—69, down to *where it is said that*) in his posaha-house, he lived in conformity with the teachings of the Law which he had received in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra.

224. Then *one day* in the presence of that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, at the time of the midnight hour, there appeared a certain deva.

225. Then that deva, brandishing a large sword of dark blue lustre (and so forth, *as in* § 95), spoke thus to Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa. (*Here it should be related, how* the deva inflicted on him exactly the same persecutions as on Chuḷaṇīpiyā; only that he cut up each of his sons into nine lumps of flesh; *and so forth, as in* §§ 129—134, down to *where it is said that*) he slew his youngest son; and having done so, he bespattered his body *with his flesh and his blood.*

226. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained *engaged in the meditation of the Law.*

227. Then that deva, observing that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (and so forth, *as in* § 96), spoke thus for the fourth time to Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa: "O ho, Saddālaputta, thou servant

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of the Samaṇa, who desirest what no one desires (*as before*, § 95, down to) if thou doest not interrupt *thy practice of the virtues*, then I shall this day carry forth out of thy house that wife of thine, Aggimittā, who is well affected towards the Law, fully conversant with it, and passionately devoted to it, and who patiently bears *both* pleasure and pain; and having done so, I shall slay her before thy eyes, and then cut her up into nine lumps of flesh, and then boil her in a cauldron full of a liquid; and having done so, I shall bespatter thy body with her flesh and her blood, so that agonized (*as above*, § 95, down to) thou shalt be deprived *of thy life*."

228. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, being thus spoken to by that deva, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained *engaged in the meditation of the Law*.

229. Then that deva, for a second and a third time, spoke thus to Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa: "O ho, Saddālaputta, thou servant of the Samaṇa," (here he spoke exactly as before, *in* § 227).

230. Then to that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, being thus spoken to by that deva for the second and the third time, there occurred the following inward, (etc., *as in* § 66) reflection: (here he bethought himself, exactly as Chulaṇīpiya, *in* § 138) "that he *carries forth* my eldest son, and my second son, and my youngest son (*and so forth*, down to) bespatters *my body*; and now this wife of mine, Aggimittā, who patiently bears *both* pleasure and pain, even her too he wants to carry forth out of my house and slay her before my eyes. So then, surely, it is better for me to catch that fellow." Thus reflecting, he rose up. (Here everything is to be related exactly as in the case of Chulaṇīpiyā, *in* §§ 138—142; only that his wife Aggimittā, hearing the uproar, spoke to him; the remainder *again* is to be related as in the case of Chulaṇīpiyā; only that) he was

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reborn *as a deva* in the Aruṇabhūya[315] abode (*and so forth, as in* §§ 89, 90, 144, down to) he will obtain perfection (etc.) in the Great Videha country.

[315] The MS. readings of this name vary greatly. I have adopted that of MS. G, which is supported by all MSS. (exc. F) in the enumeration of all the different 'abodes' in § 277. All the names of the 'abodes' refer, in one way or the other, to the splendour of the dawn. Thus we have 1, *aruṇa* (Skr. the same), 'the dawn'; 2, *aruṇ'ābha* (Skr. the same), 'shining like the dawn'; 3, *aruṇa-ppabha* (Skr. *aruṇa-prabha*), 'resplendent like the dawn'; 4, *aruṇa-kanta* (Skr. *aruṇa-kānta*), 'lovely like the dawn'; 5, *aruṇa-siṭṭha* (Skr. *aruṇa-shiṣṭa*), 'excellent like the dawn'; 6, *aruṇa-jjhaya* (Skr. *aruṇa dhvaja* Hem. II, 27), 'having the dawn for its standard; 7, *aruṇa-bhūya* (Skr. *aruṇa-bhūta* or *aruṇa-bhūya*), 'being the very dawn'; 8, *aruṇa-vaḍiṃsaya* (Skr. *aruṇ'āvataṃsaka*), 'having the dawn for a crest'; 9, *aruṇa-gava* (Skr. the same), 'being like the rays of the dawn'; 10, *aruṇa-kīla* (Skr. the same), 'being like the light of the dawn.' The reading of MS. D *aruṇ'achchae* would also yield a good sense, as it represents Skr. *aruṇ'ārchakaḥ*, 'radiant like the dawn' (from *archa*); so would also that of MS. B *aruṇa-bha* (Skr. the same), 'being like the dawn,' and also that of MS. A in the Berlin Catalogue (ed. Weber, p. 488) *aruṇ'achchue* (Skr. *aruṇ'āchyutaḥ*), 'imperishable like the down.' Of the reading of MSS. AF *aruṇa-chūe* (repeated by F in § 277) I can make nothing satisfactory. I may add that the reading *aruṇābhe* of all MSS. in § 62 and of MSS. FG in § 89 in clearly an error, being inconsistent with the whole scheme of the names. Accordingly I have altered it to *aruṇe*. The reading *aruṇa-siddhe* of E in §162, though it would give a good sense, 'perfect like the dawn,' is negatived by the commentary to § 277.

(*Here the usual* Conclusion *is to be inserted.*)

End of the Seventh Lecture of the Seventh Anga, *called* the Uvāsagadasāo.

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EIGHTH LECTURE.

(*Here the usual Introduction* to the Eighth Lecture *is to be inserted.*)

231. Truly, Jambū, at that time and at that period there was the city of Rāyagiha, the cheïya Guṇasila, *and* the king Seṇiya.

232. There, in Rāyagiha, lived a householder, called Mahāsayaga, *who was* prosperous and (*here the rest of his epithets to be given* as in the case of Āṇanda, *in* §§ 3, 4, except that) he possessed *a treasure of* eight kroṛ kaṃsa[316] of gold deposited

[316] Text *sa-kaṃsão*, Skr. *sa-kāṃsyāḥ*, 'measured by kāṃsya.' The *kāṃsya* or *kaṃsa* is a drinking vessel of brass, used as a measure. According to the statement, in § 235, it held two *droṇa*. The droṇa is usually said to contain four *āḍhaka*; but there was also another droṇa of two *āḍhaka* and a third of one *āḍhaka*. According to the Bhāva Prakāsha (and the Medinī Kosha; see the Shabda Kalpadruma, new ed., s. v. *kaṃsa*) the kaṃsa is equal to one āḍhaka; for both are there said to be equal to 64 pala (for 1 *āḍhaka* = 4 *prastha* = 8 *sharāva* = 64 *pala* = 1 *kaṃsa*). But according to the Charaka, the kaṃsa holds 8 prastha (see ibid., s. v. *āḍhaka*), that is, 2 āḍhaka. It follows that the droṇa, referred to in § 235, is the smallest of the three kinds, namely that which is equal to one āḍhaka. The āḍhaka is variously said to contain "about 750 of our cubic inches" (see Bate's Hindī Dictionary, s. v.), or 432, or 290, or 91 cubic inches (see Colebrooke's Essays, Vol. I, pp. 534—538). From the statement in § 235, it would appear that the gold was measured not so much by weight, as by the quantity which a

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in a safe place, a capital of eight kroṛ kaṃsa of gold put out on interest, a well-stocked estate of the value of eight kroṛ kaṃsa of gold, and eight herds, each herd consisting of ten thousand head of cattle.

233. That Mahāsayaga had thirteen wives, among whom Revaī was the chief, and who were perfect in every way (*and so forth*, down to) beautiful.

234. This Revaī, the wife of that Mahāsayaga, possessed ancestral *property consisting of* eight kroṛ *measures* of gold and eight herds, each herd containing ten thousand head of cattle. The remaining twelve wives possessed each only one kroṛ *measures* of gold and one herd, containing ten thousand head of cattle.

235. At that time and at that period the Lord arrived *on a visit*, and a company of people went out *to hear him*. (*Here it is to be related, as in* §§ 10—58, *how*, like Āṇaṇda, *Mahāsayaga also* went out, and *how* similarly he took on himself the law of a householder, only that *in his renunciations* he specified eight kroṛ kaṃsa of gold and eight herds, and that, with the exception of his thirteen wives of whom Revaī was chief, he renounced all other sexual intercourse. All the rest *is to be repeated* exactly as before. In addition he pronounced the following vow:) "*Henceforth* it shall be a rule with me, every day to traffic with *no more than* one brass vessel[317] holding two droṇa of gold.

kaṃsa vessel would hold; see note 22. On the identity of the *kaṃsa* and *kāṃsya*, see the Shāshvata Kosha, *v.* 144 (ed. Zachariae): *syāt kaṃsas taijasadravye pānapatre cha kāṃsya-vat*, i. e., 'kaṃsa, equally with kāṃsya, denotes a bright metal as well as a drinking vessel.' The 'bright metal' is defined in the Shabda Kalpadruma as *tāmra-vanga-mishrita-dhātu-visheṣaḥ*, i. e., an amalgam of copper and tin, i. e., brass.

[317] Text *kaṃsa-pāīe*, Skr. *kāṃsya-pātryā*, 'with a kāṃsya or brass vessel,' i. e., the vessel forming the kaṃsa measure; see note 316.

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236. Thus that Mahāsayaga, having became a servant of the Samaṇa, *now* devoted himself to mastering *the descrimination of* the living and lifeless (and so forth, *as before*, § 58).

237. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, abode elsewhere in a different country.

238. Then while that Lady[318] Revaī, at some time or other, at the time of the midnight hour, was kept awake by thoughts on her household affairs, there occurred to her the following inward (etc., *as in* § 66) *reflection*: "Surely it is owing[319] to these twelve co-wives of mine, that I am un-

Text *be-doṇiyāe*, Skr. *dvai-droṇikayā*, 'containing two droṇa.' Similar formations are *beïndiya*, *behiya* (Bhag., p. 425). The alternative reading *do-doṇiyāe* would correspond to such forms as *do-māsiyaṃ*, 'two monthly' (Bhag., p. 425).

318 Revaī is throughout called a *gāhāvaïṇī* (Skr. *griha-patnī*), except once in § 234 where she is called simply *bhāriyā* 'wife.' All the other women, mentioned in the several chapters of the Uvāsagadasāo, are simply called the *bhāriyā* or 'wives' of their respective husbands; thus Sivanandā, the bhāriyā of Āṇanda, § 58, 59, 60; Dhannā, the bhāriyā of Surādeva §§ 152, 153; Aggimittā, the bhāriyā of Saddālaputta, §§ 204, 205, 211, etc. The reason of making a distinction in the case of Revaī appears to be, that in § 234 she is expressly stated to be a wealthy woman. Her wealth is stated to be equal to that of her husband, and is described as 'ancestral.' She was, therefore, come of an old landed family, and belonged to the land owning class. The term *gāhāvaïṇī*, in her case, therefore, is clearly not only intended to describe her as 'the wife of a land owner,' (which description would be equally applicable to nearly all the other women of the book), but as 'a lady of the land owning class.' It would be translated by 'landed proprietress,' corresponding to *gāhāvaī* 'a landed proprietor' or 'land owner.' I have adopted 'Lady' as a shorter and more convenient term.

319 Lit. 'through the obstacle of these twelve co-wives I am unable' etc.

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able[320] to keep enjoying thoroughly the usual connubial pleasures with Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa; so it is better for to me deprive all these twelve co-wives of mine of their life, either by means of fire or by means of *some* weapon, or by means of poison, and after having appropriated as my own their several kroṛ of gold and their several herds, to live in thorough enjoyment (and so forth, *as above*) with Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa." Thus she reflected; and having done so, she kept watching her opportunities when those twelve co-wives of hers were sparingly attended or left entirely by themselves.[321]

239. Then that Lady Revaī, at some time or other, having observed her opportunity with those twelve co-wives of hers, dispatched[322] six of them by means of a weapon; and six

[320] Text *saṃchāeï*, Skr. *santyājayati*. The commentaries always explain it by Skr. *shaknoti*. This, however, does not give the phonetic equivalent, but merely explains the meaning of the word. The same word, in its simple form *chaeï* (for *chāeï*, metri causa) occurs in Ov. § 183. The real derivation is suggested by Hemachandra (in IV, 86), who gives *chayaï* with the same meaning, and places it with the synonymous words *taraï*, *tīraï*, *pāraï*, and suggests the Skr. *tyajati* as its equivalent. This is correct. The words *taraï*, *tīraï*, *pāraï*, either in the primary or in the causal form, mean originally 'to pass over,' hence 'to complete' or 'to accomplish,' and hence 'to be able;' for if one accomplishes a thing, he is able to do it. Similarly *chayaï* (Skr. *tyajati*) and *chāeï* (Skr. *tyājayati*), the primary and causal forms, mean originally 'to pass by,' 'to quit,' hence 'to complete' or 'to accomplish,' and hence 'to be able.' Accordingly Pr. *saṃchāeï* is the Skr. *santyājayati*.

[321] Lit., 'kept watching the times and the openings and the lonelinesses of the co-wives.' See the commentary, which explains *chhiddāṇi* by *virala-parivaratvāni*, lit. 'state of the suite having interstices.'

[322] Text *uddaveï*, Skr. *uddravayati*. This is a rare word, which

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others she dispatched by means of poison; and having done so, she took into her own possession the several kroṛ of gold and the several herds of those twelve co-wives of hers; and then she lived in thorough enjoyment of the *usual* connubial pleasures with Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa.

240. Then that Lady Revaī, being greedy after meat, infatuated with *the desire* for meat (*and so forth*, down to) solely intent upon meat, used to indulge in the consumption (etc.) of juices, liquors and spirits of various kinds,[323] to-

does not seem to occur in Sanskrit. It occurs again in § 242, where the comm. explains it by *vinashayata* 'destroy,' 'kill.' Here the word clearly bears the same meaning of 'killing.' The substantive *uddavaṇa* occurs in Ov. § 30II′, where the Skr. comm. gives two alternative explainations of the compound *uddavaṇakare*. It means either *maraṇāntika-vedanā-kāri* 'torturing to death,' or *dhanaharaṇ'ādy-upadrava-kāri* 'injuring by seizure of property.' It seems clear from this, that the word is a denominative formation from the substantive *uddrava* (from the root *ud-dru*), a synonym of *upadrava*. This is confirmed by the var. lect. of MSS. DEG in § 242, which have *uvaddaveha* instead of *uddaveha*, i. e., Skr. *upadravayata* for *uddravayata*. The derivation from a root *ud-du* (see Ov., Index, s. v. *uddavaṇa*) is not tenable, for though the meaning 'to burn up,' i. e., 'to distress to death' might suit the word in Ov. § 30, it would not well suit the word in § 242, where it is applied to the slaughter of cattle; nor would the derivation from root *uddu* suit the alternative meaning given by the comm. to Ov. § 30II′. On the other hand, both meanings of 'killing' and 'plundering' are easily deducible from the root *uddru* 'to run away.' The English word 'to dispatch' is similarly used to mean 'to kill.' The compound denominative verb *uddravaya* has not been met with in Sanskrit, but the corresponding simple verb does occur in the prākriticed form *davaya* (for *dravaya*) 'to remove.'

[323] The original has six different terms, of a more or less general import. *Surā* is explained by the comm. as 'that which is extracted from what is crushed by wood'; it would apply

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gether with many kinds of viands *consisting* of roasted or fried or baked meat.

241. Then, in the town of Rāyagiha, at some time or other, a proclamation was made, forbidding all slaughtering[324] *of animals*.

242. Then that Lady Revaī, being greedy after meat, infatuated with *the desire* for meat (etc., *as in* § 239), called her family retainers; and having done so, she spoke to them thus: "Do you, beloved of the devas, kill every morning two young bulls out of the herds belonging to my ancestral property, and having done so, bring *them* to me."

243. Then those family retainers, saying "be it so," respectfully accepted that order of the Lady Revaī; and having done so, they every morning killed two young bulls

to wine or cider or any juice, extracted by pressure. *Prasannā* is simply said to be a kind of *surā*. *Mahu* (Skr. *madhu*) is said to be *kṣaudra*, 'a preparation of honey.' *Majja* (Skr. *madya*) is said to be 'prepared from molasses and (the flowers of) the Dhatakī plant' (*Woodfordia floribunda* or *Grislea tomentosa*, see Watt's *Economic Products of India*, Part V, p. 297). *Sīdhu* (Skr. *shīdhu*) is said to be a kind of the same *majja*; and so is also *meraga* said to be a kind of *majja*. The comm. identifies the latter with Skr. *meraka*, which appears to be intended for *maireyaka*. Böhtlingk's Skr. Dictionary gives for *meraka* only the meaning of 'a seat padded with the bark of trees.'

324 Text *amā-ghāe*, explained in the comm. by Skr. *amāri*, lit. 'not-slaughter,' 'prohibition of slaughter.' I explain the expression as two separate words: *a-mā* = *a-māna* or *a-pramāṇa*, 'having no permission,' and *ghāe* 'slaughter'. The whole would thus mean 'slaughter has no authority,' 'slaughter is not permitted,' and give the actual words of the proclamation. The word *amā*, in the sense of 'no authority' or 'having no authority' occurs in the last verse of the Jaiminīya-nyāya-mālā-vistara (I, 3, 10, where read *no 'mā*). The vernacular paraph. adds that the proclamation was made by order of king Seṇiya.

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from the herds belonging to the ancestral property of that Lady Revaī, and brought them to her.

244. Then that Lady Revaī used to indulge in the consumption of juices (etc., *as before*, § 240) together with the viands made of the roasted (etc., *as in* § 240) meat of those bulls.

245. Thus fourteen years passed by, during which that Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, sanctified himself by exercises in the moral restraints (and so forth, *as in* § 63). (Here it is to be related, *as in* §§ 66—69, how he likewise placed his eldest son *in charge of his household*, down to *where it is said that*) in his posaha-house he lived in conformity with the teaching of the Law.

246. Then that Lady Revaī, in a state of intoxication, with reeling steps and dishevelled hair, and entirely divested of her upper garment, came to where Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, was in his posaha-house; and having done so, while exhibiting, according to the manner of women, all sorts of amorous wiles calculated to excite the passion of love, she thus spoke to him: "O ho, Mahāsayaga, thou servant of the Samaṇa, who longest after truth, righteousness, heaven and salvation, and hankerest after them, and thirstest after them, what is to thee, O beloved of the devas, the use of truth or righteousness or heaven or salvation, if thou wilt not indulge[325] in thorough enjoyment *of connubial pleasures* with me?"

[325] In illustration of Revaī's sentiments, the commentary here quotes three verses, one in Prākrit and two in Sanskrit. I have not been able to identify any of them, and they would rather seem to be popularly current verses (text *bhaṇanti*) of no known author. Their scansion, too, shows irregularities, such as are found in popular verses. The meaning of the Prākrit verse is: 'if there were no women with the charming red colour, then surely libera-

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247. Then that Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, neither regarded nor noticed the invitation of that Lady Revaī, *but* without paying any regard or taking any notice, he continued silently in the meditation of the Law.

248. Then that Lady Revaī spoke thus for a second and a third time to Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa: "O ho," and so forth. (Here she said the same as before, and he also in the same way) without paying any regard or taking any notice continued *in the meditation of the Law.*

249. Then that Lady Revaī finding that Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, paid no regard to her nor took any notice of her, returned to the place whence she had come.

250. Then that Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, engaged in conforming himself to the first standard of an uvāsaga. *He practised* the first standard according to the sacred writings (*as above,* §§ 70, 71, down to) the eleventh standard.

251. Then that Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, through these *ascetic exercises* lofty (*as above,* § 72, down to) become emaciated and reduced to a sceleton.

tion (or salvation) would be threefold bondage; it would not be (real) liberation.' The reference is to the custom of Indian women of marking the parting of the hair (*sīmanta*) with red colour. The Sanskrit verses mean: 1, 'I say truly, I say well, I say really, again and again; in this unreal world, the only thing real is a beautiful (lit. deer-eyed) woman;' 2, 'a young woman of twice eight years, and a man of twenty-five and above,—their constant love is heaven; thus it is laid down.' The use of the singular (*tumaṃ viharasi,* Skr. *tvaṃ viharasi*), in an address of the wife to her husband, is unusual. Perhaps this circumstance accounts for the many various readings. The singular may have been put in the mouth of Revaī in conformity with her intoxicated condition, which made her forget herself and put aside the usual rules of propriety. *Tubbhaṃ,* of course, is also singular; see notes 244, 262.

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252. Then while that Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, at some time or other, at the time of the midnight hour, was keeping religious vigils, there occurred to him the following inward (etc., *as in* § 66) reflection: "Truly, through these ascetic exercises, lofty" (and so forth; *here* everything *is to be repeated* as in the case of Āṇanda, § 73, down to *where it is said that*) he devoted himself to the mortification of his body by the last mortal emaceration, renouncing all food and drink and patiently waiting for his end.

253. Then to that Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, by reason of his splendid perseverance (*as above*, § 74, down to) his patient endurance of the cessation *of all acts that tend to obstruct its acquisition*, there was vouchsafed the gift of supernatural sight. Towards the East, in the salt sea, he recognised and beheld an area of a thousand yojana, and the same towards the South and West. Towards the North he distinguished and saw as far as the Vāsadhara mountain, *called* Chulla Himavanta. Below, on this Rayaṇappabhā earth, he recognised and beheld the Loluyachchua hell, the period *of punishment* in which extends to 84,000 years.

254. Then that Lady Revaī, at some time or other, intoxicated and (*as above*, § 246, down to) entirely divested of her upper garment, came to where Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, was in his posaha-house; and having done so, *she spoke thus* to Mahāsayaga: (*here it is to be related how* she spoke exactly as before, §§ 246—248, down to *where it is said that*) she spoke thus to him for a second and a third time: "O ho" (*and so forth*, exactly as before, § 248).

255. Then that Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, being thus spoken to by that Lady Revaī, grew furious (etc., *as in* § 95), *and* applying his *power of* supernatural

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sight, by means of it ascertained[326] *her future*; and having done so, he spoke thus to that Lady Revaī: "O ho, Revaī, who desirest what no one desires (etc., *as in* § 95), truly within seven days,[327] being overpowered by the tortures of wind-dropsy[328] and agonised by the intolerable force of thy

[326] Text *ohiṃ paüñjaï, ohiṇā ābhoeï*, Skr. *avadhiṃ prayunakti* (or *prayuṅkte*), *avadhinā ābhogayati*. The same phrases occur in a passage of the Bhagavatī (shata 15, uddesha 1, p. 1280 of the Calcutta print): *ohiṃ paüñjihii, Vimala-vāhaṇassa raṇṇo tiyaddhā ābhoehii*, 'he shall apply his avadhi-power, and ascertain the past career of the king Vimala-vāhaṇa.' This shows that, in the present case, *ābhoeï* is used elliptically, and some word meaning 'her future' must be supplied. The Gujarātī paraph. always renders the denominative verb *ābhogaya* by the synonyms *jovũ* or *dekhũ*, 'to see,' 'to ascertain.' It does not seem to occur, with that meaning, in Sanskrit.

[327] Text *anto sattarattassa*, Skr. *antaḥ saptarātrasya*, lit. 'within a period of seven nights.'

[328] Text *alasaeṇaṃ*, *Skr. alasakena*. The *alasaka* is some painful disease of the intestines, said to be the wind-dropsy or tympanitis. Its symptoms, according to the Charaka (see the new edition of the Shabda-kalpadruma, s. v. *alasaka*) are: debility of the system, weak digestion, abundant phlegm, and interruption of the functions of the bowels. The verse quoted in the comm. I take to be quoted from Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭānga Hṛidaya Saṃhitā, where (in sūtra-sthāna, 8th adhyaya, p. 189 of A. M. Kunte's edition) it occurs with the slightly different reading of *prayāti n'ordhvaṃ* for *n'ordhvaṃ vrajati*. In the Shabda-kalpadruma as well as in the Vāchaspatya dictionaries this verse is quoted from Vijaya Rakṣita's Madhukosha commentary to Mādhavakara's Nidāna, as occurring merely in *tantrāntare*, i. e., in another medical work; the identity of the work, apparently, being unknown to them. In another edition of Vāgbhaṭa's work, the verse reads *vipachyate* for *cha pachyate*, and *tenāmo* for *tena so*. The Bhāvaprakāsha, part II, p. 25, quotes from Kashyapa (*Kashyapas tv āha*) a similar verse: *n'ādho yāti na chāpy ūrdhvam āhāro na cha*

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agonies, thou shalt, without having obtained peace, come by thy end at the appointed time,[329] and be re-born as a Neraïya[330] on this Rayaṇappabhā earth in the Loluyachchua hell among the Neraïya, the period *of punishment* of whom extends to 84,000 years."

256. Then that Lady Revaī, being thus spoken to by Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, spoke thus *to herself:* "Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, is angry with me, Mahāsayaga is unkind to me, I have been cursed by Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa; who knows[331] but I shall die by some evil death." Saying so *to herself*, in fear, dread, alarm, anxiety and terror she very slowly retired; and having done so, she returned to where her own house was, and there with anxious *thoughts (and so forth,* down to)[332] she meditated.

257. Then that Lady Revaī, overpowered by the tortures of wind-dropsy and agonised by the intolerable force of her agonies, came to her end at the appointed time within seven days, and was re-born as a Neraïya on this Rayaṇappabhā

pachyate, koṣṭha-sthito 'lasībhūtas tato 'sāv alasaḥ smṛitaḥ. According to this verse the disease consists in indigestion without evacuation upwards or downwards.

[329] On the terms *a-samāhi-patta* and *kāla-māse*, see notes 161, 163. Here they are not used in the technical, but in a more general sense.

[330] A *neraïya* (Skr. *nairayika*) is an inhabitant of a *niraya* or hell. See Bhag., p. 156.

[331] Lit., 'it is not known, (but) I shall be killed by some evil death.'

[332] The remainder is given thus in the Kalpa Sūtra § 92 (Jacobi's Translation, in *Sacred Books*, vol. XXII, p. 249): 'with anxious thoughts and ideas, plunged in a sea of sorrow and misery, reposing her head on her hand, overcome by painful reflections, and casting her eyes on the ground, she meditated.'

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earth in the Loluyachchua hell among the Neraïya, whose period *of punishment* extends to 84,000 years.

258. At that time and at that period the Samana, the blessed Mahāvīra, *arrived.* (*Here the usual account of* his arrival *is to be given*, down to *where it is said that*) the company of people returned home.

259. *When they had gone away*, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, addressing Goyama, spoke to him thus: "Truly, Goyama, here in this town of Rāyagiha, a disciple of mine, Mahāsayaga by name, a servant of the Samaṇa, is devoting himself in his posaha-house, to the mortification of his body by the last mortal emaceration, renouncing all food and drink, and patiently waiting for his end. Then *the wife* of that Mahāsayaga, the Lady Revaī, coming intoxicated and (*as above*, § 246, down to) entirely divested of her upper garment, to where Mahāsayaga was in his posaha-house, and *exhibiting* (*as above*, § 246, down to) *wiles* calculated to excite the passion of love, spoke to him thus: (here her speech is to be repeated, *as before in* § 246, down to *where it is said that*) she spoke to him in the same way for a second and a third time (*see* § 248). Then that Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, being thus spoken to by that Lady Revaī for a second and a third time, grew furious (etc., *as in* § 95) *and* applying his *power of* supernatural sight, by means of it ascertained *her future*; and having done so, he spoke thus to that Lady Revaī: (*here the whole of his reply is to repeated as in* § 255, down to where *he said*) " " thou shalt be re-born as a Neraïya." " *Now* truly, Goyama, it does not befit a servant of the Samaṇa, who, renouncing all food and drink, is devoting himself to the mortification of his body by the last mortal emaceration, to enter any more into undesirable, uncharitable, unkind, unwelcome and unpleasing explanations, however true, real, genuine and actual they may be. So do thou, beloved of the devas, go and

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speak thus to Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa: "" It does not, O beloved of the devas, befit a servant of the Samaṇa, who, renouncing all food and drink, *is devoting himself* (*as above*, down to) the last *mortal emaceration*, to enter any more (*as above*, down to) actual they may be. Now thou, beloved of the devas, hast entered with that Lady Revaī into undesirable (etc., *as above*) explanations, however, true (etc., *as above*) they may be. So thou must acknowledge thy sin in this matter (*and so forth, see* § 84, down to) take upon thyself a suitable penance." " "

260. Then that blessed Goyama, saying "so be it," respectfully accepted that command of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra; and having done so, he departed thence, and entered the town of Rāyagiha, *walking* right through the midst of it. He then proceeded to the house of Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, and to the place where Mahāsayaga himself was.

261. Then that Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, observed the blessed Goyama approaching; and having done so, being happy (*as above, see* § 12, down to) in his heart, he praised and worshipped the blessed Goyama.

262. Then that blessed Goyama spoke thus to Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa: "Truly, O beloved of the devas, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, declares, says, points out, and presents thus: "" It does not, beloved of the devas, befit a servant of the Samaṇa, who is devoting himself (and so forth, *as above* § 259) to enter into explanations (and so forth, *as above* § 259)." " Now thou, beloved of the devas, hast entered with that Lady Revaī into *unkind* (etc., *as in* § 259) explanations, however true (etc., *as in* § 259) they may be. So now, beloved of the devas, do thou acknowledge thy sin in this matter (*and so forth*, down to) take upon thee a penance."

263. Then that Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa,

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saying "so be it," humbly accepted that reproof of the blessed Goyama; and having done so, he acknowledged his sin in that matter, and (*as above*, down to) took on himself a suitable penance.

264. Then that blessed Goyama departed from the presence of Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa; and having done so, he went out of the town of Rāyagiha, *walking* right through the midst of it; and then proceeded to where the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, was *staying*. Having arrived there, he praised and worshipped the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and then engaged in sanctifying himself by *the exercise of* restraints and austerities.

265. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, at some time or other, departed from the town of Rāyagiha; and having done so, he lived elsewhere in a different country.

266. Then that Mahāsayaga, the servant of the Samaṇa, having sanctified himself by many exercises in the moral restraints (and so forth, *as above*, §§ 66, 89), and having followed the profession of a servant of the Samaṇa for twenty years, and having duly observed in his body the eleven standards of an uvāsaga, now mortified himself by *a course of* emaceration continued through one month, during which he deprived himself of sixty meals, remaining entirely without food. At the end of the month allotted for his death, having made confession of sins and promise of amendment, and being sunk in deep spiritual abstraction, he attained his death, and was re-born as a deva in the Aruṇa-vaḍiṃsaga abode in the Sohamma heaven. *There* his existence *will extend* to four paliovama periods. *Finally* he will attain perfection in the Great Videha country.

(*Here the usual* Conclusion *is to be inserted.*)

End of the Eighth Lecture of the Seventh Aṅga, *called* the Uvāsagadasāo.

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NINTH LECTURE.

(*Here the usual* Introduction to the Ninth Lecture *is to be inserted.*)

267. Truly, Jambū, at that time and at that period there was the town of Sāvatthī, the cheïya Koṭṭhaga, *and* the king Jiyasattū.

268. There, in the town of Sāvatthī, there lived a householder, named Nandiṇīpiyā, *who was* prosperous. He possessed *a treasure of* four kroṛ *measures* of gold deposited *in a safe place*, a capital of four kroṛ *measures* of gold put out on interest, a well-stocked estate of the value of four kroṛ *measures* of gold, and four herds, each herd consisting of ten thousand head of cattle. His wife was *called* Assiṇī.

269. *At some time* the Lord *arrived on a visit.* (*Here it is to be fully related* how, like Āṇanda, so also) he took on himself the law of a householder. *Then* the Lord *went away and* abode elsewhere *in a different country.*

270. Then that Nandiṇīpiyā, having *now* become a servant of the Samaṇa, devoted himself (and so forth, *as before*, §§ 58, 64).

271. Thus fourteen years passed by, during which that Nandiṇīpiyā, the servant of the Samaṇa, sanctified himself by many exercises in the moral restraints *imposed* by the religious vows (and so forth, *as in* § 66). (*Here it is fully to be related, as in* §§ 66-69, *how*) he likewise placed his eldest son *in charge of his household, and then lived in conformity* with the teachings of the law, *and thus followed* the profession *of a servant of the Samaṇa* for twenty years. (*There is to be* the variation, *however*, that his re-birth *took place* in the Aruṇa-

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gava abode.) *Finally* he will attain perfection in the Great Videha country.

(*Here the usual* Conclusion *is to be inserted.*)

End of the Ninth Lecture of the Seventh Anga, *called* the Uvāsagadasāo.

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TENTH LECTURE.

(*Here the usual* Introduction to the Tenth Lecture *is to be inserted.*)

272. Truly, Jambū, at that time and that period there was the town of Sāvatthī, the cheïya Koṭṭhaga, *and* the king Jiyasattū.

273. There in the town of Sāvatthī, there lived a householder named Sālihīpiyā,[333] *who was in* prosperous and brilliant *circumstances.* He possessed *a treasure of* four kroṛ *measures of* gold deposited *in a safe place*, a capital of four kroṛ *measures of* gold put out on interest, a well-stocked estate of the value of four kroṛ *measures of* gold, and four herds, each herd consisting of ten thousand head of cattle. His wife was *called* Phaggunī.

274. *At some time* the Lord arrived *on a visit.* (*Here it is to be related*, how, like Āṇanda, so also) *Sālihīpiyā* took on himself the law of a householder, and (how like Kāmadeva, so also) he, having placed his eldest son *in charge of his household*, lived in his posaha-house in conformity with the teachings of the Law of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra. (*Here* all the eleven standards of an uvāsaga are to be re-

[333] The first part of this name occurs in various forms in the MSS., here as well as in § 2. The chief variations are *Sālahī* in BF, *Sālatī* in B, *Sālaṇī* in F, *Sāleiṇī* in DE, *Sāletiyā* in E, and *Letiyā* or *Letikā* (§ 4) in G. The last mentioned form was found also in the MS. examined by Prof. A. Weber (see *Indische Studien*, vol. XVI, p. 317). The reading *Lalitānka* in MS. C is probably an error. In a work called *Vardhamāna-deshanā*, (referred to by Prof. Weber, *ibid.*) the name is given as *Tealipio* (*Tealipiyā ?*). See also the Berlin Catalogue (ed. Weber), pp. 484, 489, 493.

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lated exactly as before, §§ 70, 71, 114, 123, except that they were attained without *suffering* any persecution; likewise *the rest of* the account is to be adduced as in the case of Kāmadeva, down to *where it is said that*) he was reborn as a deva in the Aruṇakīla abode in the Sohamma heaven. *There* his existence *will extend to* four paliovama periods. *Finally* he will attain perfection in the Great Videha country.

275. To all the ten *men*, while they were in the fifteenth year *of their profession*, there occurred the thought *of ascetic retirement*; and of all ten men the period of profession as servants of the Samaṇa extended to twenty years.

276. Truly, Jambū, this was taught by the Samaṇa (as before, § 2) who has passed away, as the purport of the tenth lecture of the seventh Anga, *which is called* the Uvāsagadasāo.

277. *Summary in gāthā verses.*[334]

1. Vāṇiyagāma, Champā, and twice the town of Bāṇārasī; also the goodly town of Ālabhiyā and Kampillapura may be noticed;

2. Polāsa, Rāyagiha, *and* let be *added* twice the town of Sāvatthī;[335] these truly are to be noted as the towns of the *ten* uvāsagas.

[334] This summary is probably a later addition. A portion of it, including the first six verses, however, existed already early in the twelfth century, as Abhayadeva, in his commentary, quotes them, as being contained "in another manuscript." The MSS., therefore, showed already in his time the same divergence with regard to these verses, as they do now. The last six verses would appear to have been unknown to Abhayadeva, and are probably a still later addition. To this the form *abhingaṇa* in verse 8, a late modification of the Skr. *abhyangana*, for the older *abbhangaṇa*, seems to point. The latter form would not suit the metre.

[335] It may be noted that *donni* is here used as a collective

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3. Sivanandā, Bhaddā, Sāmā, and Dhannā, Bahulā, Pūsā, Aggimittā; Revaī, Assiṇī next, and Phagguṇī are the names of the *ten* wives.

4. Supernatural knowledge, the pisāya, the mother, also desease, wealth *and* the upper garment; the pious and the impious wives, and the two unpersecuted ones, *these are the leading features of the ten lectures.*

5. Aruṇa, Arunābha, truly, and Aruṇappaha, Aruṇakanta, Siṭṭha; also Arunajjhaya as the sixth, *and* Bhūya Vaḍiṃsa, Gava, Kīla *are the names of the ten abodes.*

6. Forty, sixty, eighty, sixty, sixty, sixty, and ten thousands *of cattle*; eighty, forty, forty are also the amounts of their *other* thousands.

7. Twelve, eighteen, twenty-four, three times eighteen, these, be it known, are the krors of wealth *of the ten uvāsagas*, and three, twenty-four, twelve, twelve.

8. Towels, tooth-brushes, fruits, ungents, powders, and bathing water; clothes, perfumes, flowers, ornaments, incense, *and* beverages;

9. Pastry, boiled rice, pottages, clarified butter, vegetables, liquors, relishes, and drinking water, are the twenty-one *objects* vowed by Āṇanda and the other *uvāsagas.*

10. Above to Sohamma, below to Lolūya, then northwards to Himavanta, *and* over five hundred *yojanas* in the *remaining* three directions extends the supernatural knowledge of the group of ten *uvāsagas.*

11. Insight, the vows, inward peace, the posaha abstinences, fastings, continence, refraining from living food, from self-exertion, from employment of others, and from specified food, and *lastly* being a Samaṇa:

numeral substantive 'pair' (Skr. *dvaya*), constructed with the singular verb *bhave* (Skr. *bhavet*) and the genitive *Sāvatthīe purīe*, lit. 'of the town Sāvatthī let there be a pair.' Similarly *duve*, in the first verse, is a collective, constructed with the genitive *Bāṇārasīe.*

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12. *After these* eleven standards, *practised during* a course of religious profession for twenty *years, and after* abstention from all nourishment for one month *and an existence for* four paliovama periods in the Sohamma *heaven, the uvāsaga* will attain perfection in the Great Videha country.

End of the Tenth Lecture of the *Seventh Anga, called the* Uvāsagadasāo.

End of the *Seventh Anga, called the* Uvāsagadasāo.

The seventh Anga, *called* the Uvāsagadasāo, constitutes one book of holy writ. Its ten chapters, each forming one portion, are recited in just ten days; and thus *in that time* the whole book is completely read. It is permitted,[336] however, to do the same with the Anga in two days.[337]

[336] Text *aṇuṇṇāvijjaï*, Skr. *anujñāpyate*, conjecturally restored for the corrupt readings *aṇuṇavijaï* and *anuvimjjaï* of the MSS. (and *aṇuvijjaī* of MS. B in the Berlin Catalogue, ed. Weber, p. 409). Probably the same word is intended by the corrupt readings in the Bhagavatī, *aṇunavvati* and *aṇuṇṇavati* (Bhag., p. 378) or *aṇutachchaï* and *aṇuṇṇavati* (Calc. print).

[337] That is, it is permitted to complete the recitation of the whole book in two days; probably taking five chapters each day. On the whole rubric, see *Indische Studien*, vol. XVI, p. 315, footnote 9. In the *Vidhiprapā*, (strangely enough) it would seem (see *ibid.*, vol. XVI, p. 250, footnote 1), fourteen days (not ten) are appointed for the recitation of the whole book.

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APPENDIX.

THE HISTORY OF GOSĀLA MANKHALIPUTTA

*briefly translated from Bhagavatī, saya XV, uddesa I.**

Gosāla Mankhaliputta was born in the settlement (*sannivesa*) Saravana, in the neighbourhood apparently of the town of Sāvatthī. His father was called Mankhali, because he was a '*mankha*' or mendicant who went about getting his livelihood by showing a picture which he carried in his hand. His mother was called Bhaddā. Once on his wanderings Mankhali came to the settlement of Saravaṇa, and failing to obtain any other shelter, he took refuge for the rainy season in the cow-shed of a wealthy brāhman, called Gobahula (p. 1204). There his wife bore him a son, and as the child was born in a cow-shed (*gosālā*), his parents gave him the name of Gosāla (p. 1205). When grown up, he also adopted the profession of a *mankha*. About that time Mahāvīra, having shortly before, at the age of thirty years, adopted the ascetic life, was spending his second year in a weaver's shed in Nālandā, a suburb (*bāhiriyā*) of Rāyagiha (p. 1206). Gosāla, in his wanderings, also happened to arrive and put up there. One day, observing the extraordinary respect shown to Mahāvīra by Vijaya, one of the rich householders of Rāyagiha, he approached Mahāvīra, as he came out of Vijaya's house, and asked to be admitted as his disciple. Mahāvīra, however,

* In order to preserve the historic sequence of the events, I have, in the translation, slightly altered the sequence of the narrative as given in the Bhagavatī. This will be seen from the references to the pages of the Calcutta print of that work.

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declined his request (p. 1210a). The same circumstances were repeated on two successive occasions, when Mahāvīra was honourably entreated by the householders Āṇanda and Sudaṃsaṇa (p. 1211a). The next time Mahāvīra went to the settlement of Kollāga, at some distance from Nālandā, where he was hospitably entreated by the brāhman Bahula. Gosāla, thinking that Mahāvīra had again gone into Rāyagiha, vainly sought him in the city and its suburbs. Failing to find any trace of him, he returned to the weaver's shed, gave away his clothes, vessels, shoes and pictures to a brāhman, shaved off his hair and beard, and in despair departed (p. 1212). On his way he passed Kollāga, which he reached at the very moment when a great crowd were applauding the liberality of Bahula towards Mahāvīra. He now recommenced his search and at last fell in with Mahāvīra in a place called Paṇiyabhūmi. There he again begged to be received as a disciple. This time Mahāvīra listened to Gosāla's prayer, and thenceforth these two lived together for six years in Paṇiyabhūmi, practising asceticism (p. 1214a).* After this period they were once travelling together from the town Siddhatthagāma to the town Kummagāma. On their way they passed a large sesame shrub in full bloom. On seeing it Gosāla asked Mahāvīra, whether the shrub would perish or not, and where its seeds would reappear. Mahāvīra replied, that the shrub would perish, but that the seeds would form in seed vessels of the same shrub. Gosāla would not believe it; so, thinking to prove him a liar, he quietly returned to the shrub, tore it up by the roots and threw it away. As chance would have it, just then a shower of rain fell. In consequence of it the shrub was able again to take root and stand up, and so the seeds after all formed in its seed vessels (p. 1216a). In the meantime Mahāvīra and

* This hardly agrees with the statement in the Kalpasūtra, § 122, that Mahāvīra spent but one rainy season in Paṇiyabhūmi.

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Gosāla had passed on to Kummagāma. Outside the town they met the ascetic Vesiyāyaṇa sitting with upraised arms and upturned face in the glare of the sun, while his body was swarming with lice. On seeing him Gosāla, quietly dropping behind, derisively asked him whether he was a sage or a bed of lice. Vesiyāyaṇa giving no reply, Gosāla twice repeated his question. Vesiyāyaṇa, now roused to anger, attempted to strike Gosāla with his magic power; but Mahāvīra, taking pity on Gosāla, interposed with his own magic power to save him. The other, observing this, (pacified) said to him: "all right, Sir! all right, Sir!" Gosāla then asked Mahāvīra, why that man had said so, whereupon Mahāvīra explained to him his danger and deliverance by magic power. This account greatly terrified Gosāla who wished to know, how the man had acquired his magic power. Mahāvīra then explained to him the severe ascetic discipline by which he had obtained it (p. 1220). Shortly afterwards when the two ascetics returned to the town Siddhatthagāma, they passed the identical sesame shrub. On seeing it, Gosāla reminded Mahāvīra of his prophecy, that the shrub would die, but that the seeds would form on it in a seed vessel, adding, that it was quite clear that the shrub had not died, and the seeds had not formed. Mahavīra replied that his prophecy had come true; for the shrub had perished, seeing that Gosāla himself had pulled it out by the roots and thrown it away; but that owing to a lucky fall of rain the shrub had come to life again, and the seeds had formed in its seed vessel (p. 1221). He added that similarly all plants were capable of reanimation. Still Gosāla would not believe it, and went up to the plant to examine its seed vessel. But finding, on opening it, that Mahāvīra had been correct, he drew the further conclusion that not only plants, but in fact all living beings were capable of reanimation. This generalisation of the theory of reanimation, apparently, not finding favour with Maha-

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vīra, Gosāla thenceforward separated from him, and by following the course of asceticism, previously explained to him by Mahāvīra, himself succeeded after six months in acquiring magic powers (p. 1222). He then professed himself a Jina, and became the head of a sect, called the Ājīviyas. Their chief seat was the town of Sāvatthī, where a woman Hālāhalā of the potter caste, a lay disciple of theirs, gave them lodging in her shop. While Gosāla was staying there in the twenty-fourth year of his ascetic life, he was visited by a company of ascetics who were known as the six Disācharās (p. 1201). With them he discussed their respective theories. His own theory, taken from the so-called eight Mahānimittas, a portion of the Puvvas, embraced the following principles: obtainment, and non-obtainment, pleasure and pain, life and death (p. 1202). The fact of this visit was reported to Mahāvīra, who just at that time had also come to Sāvatthī, by his eldest disciple Indabhūi (p. 1203). On this Mahāvīra took occasion to relate the above-mentioned circumstances of Gosāla's life, and to deny his claim to Jina-hood. The news of this denial soon spread to the town, and caused great annoyance to Gosāla (p. 1224*a*). Some time afterwards Āṇanda, another of Mahāvīra's disciples, on one of his begging tours, happened to pass Hālāhalā's potter shop. Gosāla called him in and told him a story of some merchants, who in distress for water, persisted, against the advice of one of them, in opening a huge ant-hill, and were all, with the exception of the dissentient one, destroyed by the magic fire of a fierce serpent that had been concealed in it (p. 1231). He added that he should go and tell Mahāvīra that he would meet with a similar fate, if he ventured to encounter him, while Āṇanda himself would be spared (p. 1232). The latter greatly terrified, at once went to Mahāvīra, who was staying outside the town in the Koṭṭhaga cheïya, and telling him all that Gosāla had said, asked him whether the latter

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really possessed magic powers of destruction (p. 1234*a*). Mahāvīra admitted Gosāla's power, but added that it could have no effect on an Arhat, because the magic powers of the latter were still greater. He further told Āṇanda, to forbid all his followers to hold any intercourse with the heretical Gosāla (p. 1236*a*). While Āṇanda was still communicating this interdiction to the other Niggantha ascetics, Gosāla with his Ājīviyas came out to Koṭṭhaga, and addressing Mahāvīra, said to him: "You have called me your pupil; but that pupil of yours, Gosāla Mankhaliputta, is long since dead and reborn in the world of the devas, while I, who am really Udāī Kuṇḍiyāyaṇīya, have only, in the seventh (and last) of my series of changes of body by means of reanimation, entered the body of Gosāla, which body I am still retaining (p. 1237)." He then proceeded to explain in detail his theory of all rebirths of all living beings, as well as to enumerate his own seven reanimations successively in the bodies of Eṇejjaga for 22 years, of Mallarāma for 21 years, of Maṇḍiya for 20 years, of Roha for 19 years, of Bhāraddāī for 18 years, of Ajjuṇa Goyamaputta for 17 years, and of Gosāla Mankhaliputta for 16 years. The last named reanimation, he said, he had undergone in the town of Sāvatthī, in the potter shop of Hālāhalā, the potter woman (p. 1243*a*).* Mahāvīra, in reply told him, that he acted like a thief who, on being hardly pressed by the villagers, tried to hide himself under different disguises in all sorts of out-of-the-way places, fondly imagining that he could not be recognised (p. 1245*a*). Gosāla now getting angry, began to grossly abuse him, and when Savvāṇubhūī, one of Mahāvīra's disciples, reproved him for such shameless conduct towards his former teacher, he

* A fuller translation of the phantastic account of Gosāla's pre-existent history, which, however, forms no essential part of his doctrine, will be found in Rokhill's *Life of Buddha*, Appendix I, pp. 253-255.

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destroyed him by means of his magic power (p. 1247*a*). For the same reason and in a similar way he destroyed Suṇakkhatta, another disciple of Mahāvīra (p. 1248*a*). At last Mahāvīra himself reproved him. Gosāla then drawing back a few paces, shot forth his magic power of destruction against Mahāvīra; but harmlessly rebounding from him as from a rock, it returned burning Gosāla himself (p. 1249*a*). The latter thinking, that he had hit Mahāvīra, told him that he would now die of bilious fever within six months. But Mahāvīra replied that so far from dying within six months, he would yet live sixteen years longer as a Jina, while on the contrary, Gosāla himself, having been hit by his own magic power, would perish of bilious fever within seven days (p. 1250*a*). The rumour of this dispute spread through the town, and there was much discussion among the people as to whose threat would prove true, the better sort among them maintaining, that Mahāvīra spoke the truth (p. 1250*b*). Mahāvīra himself told his Niggantha ascetics, that now that Gosāla was discomfited by magic power, they might go to him and worry him with questions and discussions. They went and did so, and Gosāla, though greatly enraged, was unable to defend himself (p. 1252*a*). Then his Ājīviya followers, observing the discomfiture of Gosāla, left him and attached themselves to Mahāvīra; but a few of them still remained with Gosāla (p. 1253*a*). The latter, discomfited and horror-stricken, fled back to Hālāhalā's potter shop, where in the delirium of fever, holding a mango in his hand, he gave himself up to drinking, singing, dancing, soliciting Hālāhalā, and sprinkling himself with the cool muddy water in the potter's vessels (p. 1253*b*). On this Mahāvīra took occasion to explain to his followers that the magic power that destroyed Gosāla was powerful enough to cause the destruction of the people of the sixteen tribes of the Anga, Banga, Magaha, Malaya, Mālava, Achchha,

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Vachchha, Kochchha, Pāḍha, Lāḍha, Bajjī, Molī, Kāsī, Kosaḷa, Avāha and Sambhuttara. He further explained to them how the delirious actions of Gosāla gave rise to some of the tenets of the Ājīviyas (p. 1254*a*). Thus the drinking, singing, dancing and soliciting of Mankhaliputta occasioned the doctrine of the 'eight finalities' (*aṭṭha charamāiṃ*): the last drink, the last song, the last dance, the last (improper) solicitation, the last tornado, the last sprinkling elephant, the last fight with big stones as missiles, and the last Titthānkara who is Mankhaliputta himself (p. 1255*a*).*

* The first four items refer to the last personal acts of Gosāla. Of the latter four items the first three refer to events which happened at or about the time of Gosāla's death. The 'sprinkling' elephant, was a huge elephant, apparently known by the name of *Seyaṇaga* (Skr. *sechanaka*) or 'the sprinkler', belonging to king Seṇiya of Magadha. He gave the elephant, together with a huge necklace of eighteen strings of jewels, to his younger son Vehalla, by his wife Chellaṇā, a daughter of king Cheḍaga of Vêsāli. His elder son, Kuṇiya, by the same wife, after usurping his father's throne, on the instigation of his wife Paüṃāvaī, demanded from his younger brother the return of both gifts. On the latter refusing to give them up, and flying with them to his grandfather Cheḍaga in Vēsāli, Kuṇiya, having failed peacefully to obtain the extradition of the fugitive, commenced war with Cheḍaga. In this war those stone missiles were employed. The story of the elephant and the war is narrated in the *Nirayāvaliyā-sutta* (see a portion of it in Warren's ed., §§ 17ff). The synchronism of Gosāla's death with the war between Kuṇiya and Cheḍaga may perhaps possess a chronological value. According to the calculation, given in note 253, the war would fall in 450—451 B. C. In Nir. § 17 it is related how the elephant Seyaṇaga carried the royal ladies of Champā to their bath and sport in the river Ganges. He took them up with his trunk, and placed them, some on his back, some on his neck, some on his forehead, some on his head, some on his tusks; then taking up some of them with his trunk, he tossed them up on high; others sitting on his trunk, he swayed to and fro as on a swing;

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Again Mankhaliputta's wetting himself with the muddy water from a potter's vessel led to the doctrine of the four things that may be used as drinks, and the four things that, on account of their cooling properties, may be used as substitutes of drinks:* the former include what is excreted by the cow, what is soiled by the hand (*e. g.*, the water in a potter's vessel), what is heated by the sun, and what drops from a rock. By the latter is understood when one clutches a dish or a bottle or a pot or a jar which is cool or wet with water, but does not drink from it; or when one squeezes or presses with one's mouth a mango or a hog-plum or a jujube fruit or a tinduka fruit when it is tender or uncooked, but does not drink of its juice; or when one squeezes or presses with one's mouth kalāya or mudga or māṣa or shimbali beans when they are tender or uncooked, but does not drink of their juice; or when one eats pure food for six months, lying successively, for two months at a time, on the bare earth, on wooden planks and on darbha-grass, then there appear to him, on the last night of the six months, the two devas Puṇṇabhadda and Māṇibhadda, and clutch his limbs with

others he held up between his tusks; others he bathed with a spray of water; and others he amused in various other ways. The tornado probably refers to one of those cyclonic storms, accompanied with torrents of rain, which occasionally visit India. The term *charama* 'last' denotes that events or things, so improper or so extraordinary as those mentioned, would never again occur.

* Text *chattāri pāṇagāiṃ chattāri apāṇagāiṃ*. The commentary explains *pāṇagāiṃ* by *jalavisheṣā. vratiyogyāḥ*, i. e., 'kinds of water that are fit (to be drunk) by ascetics;' and *apāṇagāiṃ* by *pānaka-sadṛishāni shītalatvena dāhopashamahetavaḥ*, i. e., 'objects that resemble water because, on account of their coolness, they serve to assuage (internal) heat.' The words might be more literally translated: 'four things which may be drunk, and four things which (though they may be touched) may not be drunk.'

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cool and wet hands; then he who submits to their caresses furthers the work of serpents, but who does not submit to them, in his body arises a fire which consumes his body; and thus he attains death and perfection; this is the pure drink (p. 1257). At that time a layman of the Ājīviya sect, called Ayampula, who lived in Sāvatthī, happened to go to visit Mankhaliputta, to put a question to him on the nature of the Hallā insect. On approaching the potter's shop and observing Mankhaliputta in his delirious state, he felt ashamed and wanted quietly to retire; but the Theras who were about Mankhaliputta called to him to stay and, explaining to him the above-mentioned new points of doctrine, invited him to enter and put his question to Mankhaliputta (p. 1259*b*). In the meanwhile they secretly signed to the latter to throw away the mango which he was holding in his hand. Ayampula then entered and put his question. Mankhaliputta replied: "this which you see is not a mango, but merely the skin of a mango; you want to know what the Hallā insect is like; it is like the root of the bamboo; play the lute, brother, play the lute!" With this reply, Ayampula whose suspicions had been lulled by the previous explanations of the Theras, contentedly retired (p. 1261*a*). Then feeling certain of his death, Mankhaliputta instructed his Theras to bury him after his death with every mark of honour and to proclaim publicly that with him the last Titthānkara had passed away (p. 1262*a*). But at the last moment his assurance gave way, and overwhelmed by the sense of his evil deeds, he retracted everything, declared that Mahāvīra alone was the true Jina, that he himself was only Gosāla, the son of Mankhali, and a wicked man, and that his Theras should bury him with every mark of dishonour and publicly proclaim his shame. Immediately afterwards he died (p. 1264*a*). Upon this the Theras closed the doors of the potter's shop, and within its precincts made a pretence

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of carrying out Mankhaliputta's instructions regarding a dishonourable burial; then they opened the doors again and gave his body a public burial with all honours according to his original instructions (p. 1265*a*). After these events Mahāvīra left Sāvatthī, and after wandering about some time, at last came to the Sālakoṭṭhaya cheïya near the town of Miḍhiyagāma, where there was a fine flourishing arbour of the Mālukā creeper. In that town there lived a married woman, Revaī by name (p. 1266*a*). Soon after his arrival Mahāvīra got a very severe attack of bilious fever, and all the people of the town thought that Gosāla's prophecy was going to be fulfilled, and that Mahāvīra would die in a paroxysm of fever after six months. This greatly troubled the mind of one of Mahāvīra's disciples, called Sīha, who was going through a course of asceticism in the vicinity of the Mālukā arbour; so much so that retiring into the arbour he began to weep aloud (p. 1267). On hearing his voice, Mahāvīra sent his Nigganthas to call him. They went and called Sīha. Mahāvīra then comforted him, telling him that he was so far from dying through Gosāla's curse, that he would yet live for sixteen years longer the life of a Jina (p. 1269*a*). He further instructed him to go to the woman Revaī and tell her, that there was no need of the two pigeons which she had been cooking for him, but that there was the flesh of a cock killed the day before by a cat,—that she should send (p. 1269*a*).* Sīha did as he had been instructed, and obtaining from Revaī that flesh, placed it in the hands of Mahāvīra, who voraciously gulped it down. Instantly he recovered from his disease to the intense delight of all men and devas (p. 1272*a*).

* This is the literal interpretation (*shrūyamāṇam ev'ārtham*) of the words of the text; and the commentary says that some people interpret them in that way; but it adds, that others interpret it differently They take *kavoya* (Skr. *kapota*) 'pigeon' to be a species

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The account than goes on to relate how the two disciples of Mahâvîra, Savvāṇubhūi and Suṇakkhatta, who had been slain by Gosāla, were re-born as devas, and so forth (p. 1274*a*). Similarly it is related of the false disciple Gosāla, that he was re-born as a deva in the Achchuya world, where he is to remain for a period of twenty-two Sāgarovama. Afterwards he is to be born again in the Bhāraha country of Jambūdīva, in the town of Sayaduvāra, in the province of Puṇḍa, at the foot of the Vinjhā Mountains, in the family of king Sumaī, as the son of his wife Bhaddā; and on account of a miraculous rain of lotuses on the day of his birth, he is to bear the name of Mahāpaüma (p. 1275*b*). When he will be past eight years of age, he will be made king, and two powerful devas, Puṇṇabhadda and Māṇibhadda, will act as his generals, and he himself, on that account, will be called Devaseṇa (p. 1276*a*). He will get into his possession a beautiful white elephant, and take his rides upon it in and out of the town, and on that account he will receive the name of Vimalavāhaṇa (the white-vehicled-one) (p. 1277*a*). He will then enter into disputes with the Nigganthа Samaṇas, and will ill-treat them in many ways. Then the people of the town, disapproving of the conduct of the king, will try to dissuade him from continuing it.

of gourd (*kuṣmāṇḍa*), so called on account of its colour; and *majjāra* (Skr. *mārjāra*) 'cat' they take to be a species of plant, commonly called *virālikā* or *viḍālikā* or *vidārikā* (the latter also means 'a female cat'), and *kukkuḍa* to be a synonym of *vījapūra* 'a citron.' Hence they would interpret 'there was no need of the two gourds which she had been cooking for him, but that there was the pulp of citrons seasoned with virālikā the day before,—that she should send.' The comm. further adds a third interpretation, agreeing with the second in everything, except that it takes *majjāra* to mean a certain kind of morbid affection of the windy humour (*vāyu*) for which the pulp of citrons was a remedy

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The king, however, will not listen to them (p. 1279*a*). Now there will be near the town of Sayaduvāra a sacred grove called Subhūmibhāga, and in it Sumangala, a descendant of the Arhat Vimala, an ascetic endowed with the miraculous power of destruction and the threefold knowledge, will be going through a course of asceticism (p. 1279*b*). Then one day, when the king will be taking the air in his chariot, he will observe Sumangala engaged in his ascetic practices, and, being enraged, will push him with the front of his car, upon which Sumangala will rise up, continuing his asceticism with uplifted arms (p. 1280*a*). The king then will push him once again, upon which the ascetic will apply his miraculous (*avadhi*) power, and recognizing the past existence of the king, will tell him that he was not the king Vimalavāhaṇa Devasena Mahāpaüma, but that three births ago he was the wicked Gosāla Mankhaliputta, and that though he was at that time spared by Mahāvīra and his disciples, he himself would not spare him this time, but by means of his ascetic power destroy him together with his horse, carriage and driver (p. 1281*a*). The king, hearing this, will angrily push him a third time, upon which Sumangala, carrying out his threat, will miraculously destroy the king with his horse, chariot and driver (p. 1281*b*). After this the king will pass through the longest-enduring hell of the seventh earth, and then be re-born as a fish, and be caught and killed (p. 1283*a*). After having gone through the same circle of changes once more, he will then similarly, twice in succession, pass through the longest-enduring hell of the sixth earth (*tamappabhā*), and be re-born as a woman and killed (p. 1283*b*). Similarly he will go successively through the following phases of existence, undergoing each phase twice: an inhabitant of the longest hell of the fifth earth (*dhūmappabhā*), a serpent; an inhabitant of the longest hell of the fourth earth (*pankappabhā*), a lion; an inhabitant of

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the longest hell of the third earth (*bāluyappabhā*), a bird; an inhabitant of the longest hell of the second earth (*sakkarappabhā*), a reptile (p. 1284*b*). At last he will pass through the longest-lasting hell of this (first) earth (*rayaṇappabhā*), and then be re-born, at first as a conscious being, and next as an unconscious being; and, being killed, he will then pass through another hell of this earth, in which he will have to remain through an asankhejja part of a paliovama period (p. 1284*b*). After that, he will be re-born and slain successively, for many hundreds of thousands of times, in all the various forms of birds, reptiles, quadrupeds, fishes, beings with four senses (*e. g.*, the blind, dumb, etc.), beings with three senses, beings with two senses, trees, wind-things, fire-things, water-things, and earth-things (p. 1287*a*). After all this, having been twice re-born and slain, as a courtesan, in the town of Rāyagiha, he will finally here, in Jambūdīva, in the Bhāraha country, at the foot of the Vinjhā Mountains, in the settlement of Vibhela, be re-born as the daughter of a brāhman, and married in all form by her parents to a suitable husband, with whom she will live in great happiness. But one day, when returning pregnant from her father-in-law's house to that of her own family, she will be caught in a jungle fire and burnt to death (p. 1288*a*). He will then be re-born as one of the southern Aggikumāra devas, and after that, as a man. In the latter existence he will exclusively devote himself to the acquisition of knowledge and the practice of asceticism (p. 1288*b*). After that he will similarly pass through successive existences as a southern Asurakumāra deva, a southern Nāgakumāra deva, a southern Vijjukumāra deva, a southern Thaṇiyakumāra deva, and a Joïsiya deva, each of these existences being separated from the other by a human existence devoted to study and asceticism (p. 1289*a*). After that he will similarly pass through successive divine existences, alternating with human ones, in

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the world of Sohamma, Sanakkumāra, Bambha, Mahāsukka, Aṇaya and Āraṇa, and finally in the grand abode of Savvaṭṭhasiddha (p. 1289*b*). Thence he will at last be re-born in the Great Videha country, as the son of a wealthy man, and will receive the name of Daḍhapaïṇṇa, and pass through all the vicissitudes of Ambaḍa Daḍhapaïṇṇa, as related in the Ovavaïya Sutta (p. 1290*a*).* Finally having become a kevalin, Dadhapaïṇṇa shall recognise his previous existences, and assembling the Niggantha ascetics around him, he will tell them, how once on a time he was the wicked Gosāla Mankhaliputta, and how he came to a miserable end, and then wandered through an interminable series of existences. Thus he will exhort them to take a warning from his experiences. This account will be listened to by the Nigganthas with great awe. After that Daḍhapaïṇṇa will live many years as a kevalin, and at last depriving himself of all food, he will attain a blessed end (p. 1291*a*).

* See Dr. Leumann's edition, §§ 89—116.

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APPENDIX II.

THE DOCTRINES OF GOSĀLA MANKHALIPUTTA

translated from the Pāli of the Sumaññaphala-Sutta-Vaṇṇanā in the Sumangala-Vilāsinī, Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya, II, 20.[1]

In Makkhali's system the term *a necessary* (*pachchayo*) is simply a synonym of 'cause.' He rejects both tenets, that the evil actually done in deed, word and thought is a necessary consequence of depravity (*sankilesa-pachchayaṃ*[2]), and that the good actually done in deed, word and thought is the necessary consequence of rectitude *(visuddhi-pachchayaṃ)*.

The term *self-action* (*atta-kāro*) has its ordinary meaning. He also rejects the tenet that the creatures here on earth *(ime sattā)* can attain deva-hood or Māra-hood or Brahma-hood or the knowledge of a sāvaka (*i. e.*, disciple of a Buddha or Jina) or the knowledge of a pachcheka (*i. e.*, one who has attained saving knowledge, but does not communicate it to others) or the condition of an Omniscient (Buddha) through acts done by themselves.

In the second place, he rejects the tenet that, setting aside a 'Great Being' (*mahāsatta*, *i. e.*, a bodhisattva), the rest of mankind attain human happiness and all other conditions, including arhat-ship, through acts done by others, that is,

[1] The translation is made from the Pāli Text Society's edition, pp. 160—165. I regret that the text of the Dīgha Nikāya itself was not also available to me for translation. The portions printed in italics give Gosāla's tenets; those in brackets are added for the sake of clearness.

[2] *Lit.*, has depravity as its necessary cause.

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through the instructions and exhortations of others. By this denial that fool (*i. e.*, Gosāla) may be said to give a blow to the authority of a Jina. By the expression *there is no such thing as manly action* (*n'atthi purisa-kāro*) he rejects the tenet that any creature can attain the above-named kinds of conditions by such actions as men are capable of. By the expression *there is no such thing as power (n'atthi balaṃ)* he rejects the tenet that, trusting in any power of his own, any creature can, by exerting himself, attain to those conditions. By the expression *there is no such thing as vigour* (*n'atthi viriyaṃ*) and similar ones, he rejects all synonymous phrases for the power of man's actions (*purisa-kāra*), such as when we say: "this we owe to our vigour (*viriya*), this to our manly strength (*purisa-tthāma*), this to our manly exertion (*purisa-parakkama*)". And on account of his rejecting all these terms, he then accepts the following set of expressions.

In the term *all beings (sabbe sattā)* he comprises camels, oxen, asses and other (animals) without exception. The term all *sensive beings* (*sabbe pāṇā*) he uses to denote those with one sense, those with two senses, and so forth. The term *all generated beings* (*sabbe bhūtā*) he uses with reference to those that are generated or produced from an egg or from the womb. The term *all living beings* (*sabbe jīvā*) he uses with reference to rice, barley, wheat, and so forth; for in these he conceives that there is life, because it is their nature to grow. His terms *forceless, powerless, vigourless (avasā, abalā, aviriyā)* indicate that (all) those (beings) have no force or power or vigour of their own. In his expression *they become diversified* (*pariṇatā*) *through their destiny, their surroundings and their nature*, the term *destiny (niyati)* means fate,[3] the term *surroundings* (*sangati*) means the walk

[3] The reading of the text is not quite intelligible. The quotation of the term has *niyati* 'fate'; but the explanation reads *nīyati* and *niyattā*, which is incongruous. I am not aware of the

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of *life* peculiar to each of the six classes (to which any particular being belongs); the term *nature* (*bhāva*) means the peculiar nature of each being. Thus it is that in accordance with their destiny, their surroundings and their own nature they (*i. e.*, all beings) are *diversified* (*pariṇatā*) or get into that variety of conditions in which we find them. For it is clear that every thing happens exactly as it must happen; and that which must not happen, does not happen. He says that *in those very six classes* (*chhasu eva abhijātisu*)—by which expression he means that it is only on account of their being in one of those six classes—*they experience pleasure as well as pain* (*sukhañ cha dukkhañ cha paṭisaṃvedenti*). It follows that (according to him) there is no other ground of experiencing pleasure or pain.

By the expression *hundred thousands of principal births* (*yoni-pamukha-satasahassāni*) he means 'fourteen hundred thousands (1,400,000, in the Dulva only 14,000) of principal or best births'; he also believes in other *sixty hundreds* (6,000, in the Dulva 60,000), and again in other *six hundreds, and also in five hundreds of functions* (*kamma*). This nonsensical doctrine he only sets forth for the mere sake of argument. The same is to be said about his expressions that there are *five (kinds of) acts as well as three (kinds of)*

existence, in Pāli, of any such words as *nīyati* or *niyattā*; possibly they are misprints for *nīyāti* (Skr. *niryāti*) and *nīyattā* (Skr. *niryat-tā*), but these words which mean 'exit' or 'decease' would yield no sense in the context. The correct reading would seem to be either *niyatīti niyatatā* or *niyatīti niyatā*, in the latter case *niyatā* agreeing with *sabbe sattā*.

[4] The doctrine, contained in the paragraphs down to this point, agrees in the main with those ascribed to Gosāla in the Tibetan Dulva, as translated in Rokhill's *Life of the Buddha*, p. 101. But the remaining portion of it is there ascribed to another 'heresiarch' Ajita (*ibid.*, pp. 103, 104).

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acts, and so forth. But some say that he uses the expression *five* (*kinds of*) *acts* (*pancha kammāni*) on account of the five organs of sense, and the expression *three* (*kinds of*) *acts* (*tīṇi kammāni*) on account of the threefold distinction of acts done with the body, the speech and the mind (*i. e.*, acts, words and thoughts). The terms *act* (*kamma*) and *half act* (*aḍḍha-kamma*), again, express his heretical view that acts done with the body and acts done by speech are (full) acts, while acts done with the mind are only half-acts.[5]

[5] With the statements in the above paragraph may be compared another in the Jain Bhagavatī, p. 1237*b* (Calcutta edition). There can probably be little doubt but that the two sets of statements refer to the same doctrine of Gosāla, though the numbers differ somewhat in the Jain account of it. The latter (also quoted and translated by Dr. Leumann in Rokhill's *Life of the Buddha*, p. 253) runs as follows, Gosāla explaining it to Mahāvīra: "According to my doctrine, O venerable Kāsava, all those who have become, or are now becoming, or will hereafter become perfected, have to finish eighty-four hundred thousands of mahākalpas, during which they have, in regular succession, while born seven times as a deva, seven times as a sanjūha (some kind of embodiment), seven times as a sentient being (*saṇṇigabbha*), and reanimated in seven different bodies, to rid themselves, with reference to the functions (*kammaṇi*), of the five hundred thousands and the sixty thousands and the six hundreds (of them), and (also) of the three varieties of actions (*kamm'aṃsa*, *i. e.*, *karma-bheda*); and having done so, they attain final perfection." From the context, in which the statements occur in the Bhagavatī, and in which Gosāla relates his 'pre-existent' history, there can be no doubt that they refer to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, though what the exact meaning of them may be I am unable to make out. It is clear, however, from the remarks of both the Buddhist and Jain commentators, that to them they were equally unintelligible. Buddhaghosa declares them to be "non-sensical"; and Abhayadeva says, that, failing an exposition by the older commentators (*churṇikara*), he restricts himself to a

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The term *sixty-two modes of conduct* (*dvaṭṭhi paṭipadā*) be mere verbal explanation. At the same time, Abhayadeva's explanation, in one point, is open to doubt. The Prākrit text reads *pancha kammaṇi sayasahassāiṃ saṭṭhiṃ cha sahassāiṃ chhach cha sae tiṇṇi ya kamm'aṃse*. Abhayadeva's commentary takes *kammaṇi* as Skr. *karmaṇi* (loc. sing., = *karmaviṣaye*), 'with reference to functions (or actions)', and connects *pancha* with *sayasahassāiṃ* as Skr. *pancha-shata-sahasraṇi*. Accordingly I have so translated it above. But Abhayadeva himself admits that he does not understand the doctrine, and a comparison with Buddhaghosa's statement seems to me to suggest a different construction and interpretation of the passage. *Pancha* should be connected, not with *sayasahassāiṃ*, but with *kammaṇi*, and the latter word may be Skr. *karmaṇi* or, perhaps, is a misreading for *kammāṇi* (acc. plur., Skr. *karmāṇi*). The meaning of the passage would then be: 'they have to rid themselves of the five (kinds of) actions, and of the hundred thousands and the sixty thousands and the six hnndred (of births), and of the three kinds of actions.' Thus interpreted, the passage has a much closer agreement with Buddhaghosa's statement, especially if the word *chudasa* 'fourteen,' which seems inconsistent with his context, be omitted from it, and his *saṭṭhi satāni* be amended to *saṭṭhi sahassāni*, as the corresponding passage in the Dulva (Rokhill, *ibid.* p. 103) has it in agreement with the Bhagavatī. In that case, both authorities speak of the 5 kinds and the 3 kinds of actions, and also of the 100,000 and 60,000 and 600 births. I believe the addition of *chudasa* in the statements of both, Buddhaghosa ($14 \times 100{,}000$) and Dulva (14×1000), is capable of being in a general way harmonised with the Jain account. Buddhaghosa explains that the term 'hundred thousands' refers 'to the principal births'; and as of such 'principal births' there are 'fourteen', there must be altogether 'fourteen hundred thousands' (of principal births). By the 'principal births,' I imagine, are meant births as devas and births as men. Now later on (see pp. 25, 26) it is stated by Buddhaghosa, that Gosāla believed in 'seven (kinds of) devas,' and 'seven (kinds of) men.' He also believed in 'seven kinds of pisāchas', and 'seven kinds

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uses with the ordinary meaning. By the term *sixty-two sub-*

of sentient beings.' Any two of these classes would together give 'fourteen principal births.' Now with this may be compared the Jaín account (see Rokhill, *ibid.*, p. 254), according to which living beings pass through a series of fourteen alternate births as devas and as sentient beings. There is, therefore, clearly here some kind of general agreement between the Buddhist and Jain authorities. The number 14,000 in the Dulva, unless it be a mere misprint in Rokhill, I take to be an error for 1,400,000, as given in the Dīgha Nikāya. The Jain account itself requires a word of explanation of a seeming inconsistency in it. According to it (see the passage at the beginning of this note) all beings must pass through a series of births, seven of which are devas, seven sanjūhas (of uncertain meaning, but according to the commentator 'some kind of embodiment') and seven sentients, and finally they pass through seven re-animations. This would seem to give a total of 21 births and 7 re-animations. In the detailed application, however, of this theory to Gosāla's own case, the Jain account (see Bhagavatī, Calc. ed., pp. 1239-1241, translated in Rokhill, *ibid.*, p. 254) says, that 'after endless embodiments (*sanjūha*) a being passes through a series of fourteen births, alternating between an embodiment (*sanjūha*) as a deva and a birth as a sentient (*sannigabbha*), and finally undergoes seven re-animations.' The fourteen alternative births are thus specified: 1, as a deva in the upper Māṇasa embodiment (*māṇase sanjūhe*); 2, as a sentient being of the first kind; 3, as a deva in the middle Māṇasa embodiment; 4, as a sentient being of the second kind; 5, as a deva in the lower Māṇasa embodiment; 6, as a sentient being of the third kind; 7, as a deva in the upper Māṇasuttara embodiment; 8, as a sentient being of the fourth kind; 9, as a deva in the middle Mānasuttara embodiment; 10, as a sentient being of the fifth kind; 11, as a deva in the lower Mānasuttara embodiment; 12, as a sentient being of the sixth kind; 13, as a deva in the Brahma-world (not 'embodiment'); 14, as a sentient being of the seventh kind. These two enumerations have an appearance of inconsistency. The commentator, Abhayadeva, reconciles it

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ordinate periods (*dvaṭṭh-antarakappā*) he means to say that there are sixty-two[6] sub-periods in his one (kind of) mundane period (*kappa*). And this he says, because he does not recognize the two other (kinds of mundane periods).[7]

The expression *six classes* (*chal-abhijātiyo*) refers to his tenet, that there are the following six classes: the black, the dark-blue, the red, the yellow, the white and the supremely white. Among these he denotes, by the "black class" (*kaṇhābhijāti*), the sheep-butchers, the boar-hunters, the bird-catchers, the deer-stalkers, the hunters, the fish-killers, the thieves, the murderers for the sake of robbery,[8] the prison-keepers, and in fact all other workers of wickedness. The Bhikkhūs (or Buddhist mendicants), according to him, constitute the "blue class" (*nīlābhijāti*); they are said to eat after inserting thorns into their four necessaries. For the Sacred Text (*Pāli*) itself says on the subject, that "the mendicants are those who practise the insertion of thorns" (*bhikkhū kaṇṭaka-vuttikā*).

thus: in the list of fourteen births there are mentioned 6 embodiments; these in addition to the 'endless embodiments' mentioned previously, make up a total of 7 embodiments (*sanjūha*); again in that list are mentioned 7 births as devas and 7 births as sentients; and the list is followed by 7 re-animations; thus we obtain the four sets of sevens of the first enumeration. I cannot say, that this reconcilement strikes one as quite satisfactory; still its tendency is to prove a series of 'fourteen principal births,' and, thus far, to establish an agreement with the Buddhist accounts. Even thus, however, after all has been said, Gosāla's doctrine on the point remains obscure.

6 The text has *chatu-saṭṭhi* 'sixty-four,' which I do not understand. One would expect *dvā-saṭṭhi*.

7 The Buddhists recognize three kinds of periods, the *mahākappa*, the *asankheyyakappa*, and the *antarakappa*. Gosāla only recognized the *mahākappa*; see below, p. 26.

8 Pāli *chora-ghātaka*, German *Raubmörder*, modern *ṭhag*.

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Or it may be that he designates by the name of "those who practise the insertion of thorns" some kind of ascetics.[9] The "red class" (*lohitābhijāti*) are the Nigganṭhas (or Jain mendicants); he calls them "the men with one garment."[10] These are said to be whiter than the two preceding classes. The householders who wear white clothes and are the adherents (*sāvaka*) of the Unclothed one (*achelaka*, *i. e.*, Gosāla) constitute, according to him, the "yellow class" (*haliddābhijāti*). Thus he assigns to these (laymen) who supply him with his own necessaries, a higher place even than to the Nigganṭha (ascetics).[11] The Ājīvika mendicants (or the ascetic followers of Gosāla) constitute his "white class" (*sukkābhijāti*). They are said to be whiter than the four preceding classes. Nanda, Vachchha, Kisa, Sankichcha and Makkhali-Gosāla constitute his "supremely white class". They are said to be whiter than all the others.[12]

[9] The commentator's meaning is, that by the 'blue' class Gosāla intends the bhikkhus or Buddhist mendicants; and by the term 'thorn-inserters' he may mean either these bhikkhus or some other kind of ascetics. The 'four necessaries of a Buddhist mendicant' are his clothing, food, bedding and medicine (see Childers' Dictionary, s. v. *pachchayo*). I do not understand, however, the practice referred to, nor do I know where the "sacred text" referred to occurs. There appears to be some doubt as to the correct reading of the word *kaṇṭaka* or *kaṇḍaka*; accordingly the meaning of it must remain uncertain.

[10] Ordinarily a Jain ascetic was to content himself with one garment; see Āchārānga Sūtra, Jacobi's Translation, II, 5, 1, § 1 (p. 157), also Introduction, p. xxvi.

[11] Gosāla's preference of his lay patrons to any ascetics, even if they were only the heretical Nigganṭhas, appears particularly reprehensible to the Buddhist commentator! In the text *Nigganṭhe hi* is clearly a misprint for *Nigganṭhehi* (abl. plur.).

[12] This would seem to be intended as a classification of all men. Gosāla himself and, apparently, his chief disciples con-

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By the expression *eight stages of man (aṭṭha purisa-bhūmiyo)* he designates the following eight developmental periods of man: the dull stage, the playful stage, the experimental stage, the erect stage, the learning stage, the ascetic stage, the jina stage, and the prostrate stage. What he means is this: beginning with the day of birth, for (a period of) seven days, till they come out of a condition of mental obstruction, (living) beings are dull (*manda*) or semi-conscious (*momūha*). This he calls "the dull stage" (*manda-bhūmi*). Afterwards those that have arrived (in the present birth) from a state of torment (in a previous existence) perpetually cry and scream; while those that have come from a state of happiness laugh in the perpetual recollection of it. This he calls "the playful stage" (*khiḍḍā-bhūmi*). Then when they attempt to walk along on the ground, holding on to the hands or legs of their parents or to a bed or a stool, that he calls the "experimental stage" (*vīmaṃsā-bhūmi*). The time when they are fully able to walk on their feet, he calls "the erect stage" (*ujugata-bhūmi*). The time when they are made to learn the arts, he calls "the learning stage" (*sekha-*

stitute one class; the mendicant classes of Bhikkhus, Nigganṭhas, and Ājīviyas constitute three others, the blue, red and white respectively; and all the rest of mankind appear to be lumped up in the two remaining classes; *viz.*, the good, *i. e.*, those who patronize Gosāla, forming one class, the yellow, while the bad, *i. e.*, those who do not accept Gosāla's authority, constitute the other, the black. Incidentally it would appear from this classification, as if at one time the Buddhist, Jain and Ājīviya mendicants formed the largest and most prominent bodies of ascetics,—a fact which is also supported by the reference to them in Aśoka's pillar inscription in Delhi (see note 253). In Rokhill's translation of the Dulva (*Life of the Buddha*, p. 104) the six classes are referred to as the "six social degrees."

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bhūmi). The time, when leaving their houses, they devote themselves to a life of ascetic mendicancy, he calls "the ascetic stage" (*samaṇa-bhūmi*). The time when, after a continuous course of ascetic practices, they attain perfect knowledge, he calls "the Jina stage" (*jina-bhūmi*). When a mendicant, becoming a prostrate Jina, no longer speaks (*i. e.*, begs) anything, showing thereby that he has become an ascetic who is passed all wants, that he calls "the prostrate stage" (*panna-bhūmi*).[13]

The expression *forty-nine hundreds of mendicancies* (*ekūna-paññāsa ājīva-sate*) signifies forty-nine hundreds (4900)[14] of modes of mendicancy.

[13] Childers' translation of *panna-bhūmi* by 'period of decay' (see s. v. *puriso* in his Dictionary) hardly gives the meaning quite accurately. The stage referred to seems to be similar to that of the religious suicide in the Jain system; see Āchārānga Sūtra (Jacobi's translation) I, 7, 8, pp. 74-78. It is only permitted to ascetics who have reached the highest degree of perfection, and is regarded as leading to final liberation. The ascetic gives up begging, selects a suitable place on which he lies down, and starves himself to death.

[14] Perhaps the object of the commentator may be to guard against the expression being taken to mean 'one hundred and forty-nine'; and so on in the following cases. From the parallel passage in the Dulva (see Rokhill's *Life of the Buddha*, p. 103) it would seem that the numbers were sometimes taken in that sense. The corresponding numbers are there given as follows: "120 hells, 130 organs (or sensible distinctions), 36 elements of dust, 49,000 nāgas, 49,000 garuḍas, 49,000 parivrajakas, 49,000 achelakas, 49,000 nirgranthas, 7 modes of conscious existence, 7 of unconscious existence, 7 as asuras, 7 as pisāchas, 7 as devas, 7 human; there are 7 (or) 700 lakes, 7 (or) 700 (kinds of) writing(?), 7 (or) 700 dreams, 7 (or) 700 proofs(?), 7 (or) 700 kinds of precipices." These tenets are in Rokhill's translation ascribed to the heresiarch Ajita, possibly through a mere misunderstand-

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The expression *hundreds of wandering mendicants* (*paribhājaka-sate*) means hundreds of formal professions of wandering mendicancy.

The expression *hundreds of abodes of Nāgas* (*nāgāvāsa-sate*) means hundreds of regions (inhabited) of Nāgas.

The expression *twenty hundreds of sensible distinctions* (*vīse indriya-sate*) means twenty hundreds (2000) of sensible distinctions.[15]

The expression *thirty hundreds of hells* (*tiṃse niraya-sate*) means thirty hundreds (3000) of hells.

The expression *dust-depositories* (*rajo-dhātuyo*), that is, places on which dust gathers, he uses with reference to tables[16] (*hattha-pīṭha*), footstools (*pāda-pīṭha*), etc.

The term *seven (kinds of beings) produced from sentient beings* (*satta saññi-gabbhā*) he uses with reference to camels, oxen, asses, goats, sheep (*pasu*), deer, and buffaloes.

The expression *produced from insentient beings* (*asaññi-gabbhā*) he uses with reference to (the seven kinds of cereals) rice, barley, wheat, mugga-beans, kangu-millet, varaka-beans and kudrūsaka-grain.

The expression *produced from an inter-joint* (*nigaṇṭhi-gabbhā*), that is, 'taking their rise in a joint,' he uses with reference to sugar-cane, bamboo, reeds, and so forth.[17]

His expression *seven (kindc of) devas* (*satta devā*) refers to the numerous devas, whom he, however, declares to be (of) seven (kinds).

ing or through a confusion of the original Tibetan pages; but they seem clearly to belong to Gosāla; see note 4.

15 I suppose, by the term *indriya* are here intended "principles" like the thirty-three enumerated in Childers' Dictionary, under *indriya*.

16 Or counters of shops, etc.

17 Instead of this clause, the parallel passage in Rokhill (*Life of the Buddha*, p. 103) has a clause speaking of "seven (births) as asuras."

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The *men* (*mānusā*), who are also numberless, he declares to be (of) seven (kinds).

By the expression *seven* (*kinds of*) *pisāchas* (*satta pisāchā*) he means the gigantic (*mahanta-mahanta*) pisāchas, whom he holds to be (of) seven (kinds).[18]

The expression *lakes* (*sarā*) refers to the (seven) 'great lakes,' which he holds to comprise the Kaṇṇamuṇḍa, Rathakāra, Anotatta, Sīhappapāta, Tiyaggala, Muchalinda and Kuṇāladaha.[19]

By the expression *precipices* (*papātā*) he means the (seven) 'great precipices,' and by the expression *hundreds of precipices* (*papāta-satāni*), the (seven) hundreds of small precipices.

By the expression *dreams* (*supinā*) he means the (seven) 'great dreams' only; and by the expression *hundreds of dreams* (*supina-satāni*) he means the (seven) hundreds of small dreams.[20]

The term *great period* (*mahākappa*) is taken in its ordinary

[18] See the description of such a 'gigantic' pisācha in Lecture II, §§ 94, 95. The text reads *sattā ti* (Skr. *sattvāni iti* 'beings'), but it should probably be *sattâti* (i. e., *satta ti*, Skr. *sapta iti* 'seven'), as shown by the corresponding passage in Rokhill's *Life of the Buddha*, p. 103.

[19] The corresponding passage in Rokhill (*Life of the Buddha*, p. 103) mentions the number seven of the lakes, but does not name them. A clause that here follows is omitted, as I do not understand the expression *pachuṭā* or its variants. May *gaṇṭhikā* be a synonym of *gaṇḍikā* in the sense of 'hill,' or 'declivity'? see the Petersburg Dictionary. The corresponding passage in Rokhill (*ibid.*, p. 103) offers two different clauses which are themselves doubtful: "seven (kinds of) writing (?)" or "seven proofs(?)".

[20] I have added 'seven' in this as well as in the preceding clause on the authority of the corresponding passage in Rokhill (*Life of the Buddha*, pp. 103, 104), which speaks of "7 or 700 dreams" and "7 or 700 kinds of precipices".

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meaning. This period he holds to be equal to the time consumed in completely draining a 'great lake'[21] seven times, by removing from it, by means of a blade of 'kuśa' grass, one drop once in every hundred years. With regard to these 'great periods,' his belief is that after the lapse of eighty-four hundred thousands (8,400,000) of them, *the fool and the wise alike*—as he says—*will make an end of their suffering* (*bālo cha paṇḍito cha dukkhass'antaṃ karonti*).[22] Even the wise, he means to say, cannot become perfected within a shorter time, nor can even a fool go beyond it.

The expression *by religious precept* (*sīlena*) means 'by (observing) the precept of nakedness or any other that they may have'. In the expression *by religious rites* (*vatena*), the word 'rite' has the same meaning (as with us Buddhists). In the expression *by ascetic practices (tapena)* the word '*ascetic practice*' (*tapo-kamma*) has its ordinary meaning.

[21] From the general connection in which the expression 'great lake' here occurs, it seems evident that Buddhaghosa intended it to refer to the seven 'great lakes' mentioned in one of the preceding paragraphs. This, however, is a misunderstanding, as can be clearly seen from the Jain account of the same subject. In the Bhagavatī (Calc. ed.), pp. 1238, 1239 (transl. in Rokhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 253, 254) the measure of a *mahākappa* is thus explained: 'The river Gangā is 500 yojanas in length, ½ yojana in breadth and 500 dhaṇu in depth; there is altogether a series of seven Gangā rivers, each succeeding having seven times the dimensions of the preceding; the last of the series, accordingly, is equal to 117,649 (or 7×7×7×7×7×7×7) Gangā rivers; if now every hundred years one grain of sand be removed, then the time required to exhaust the whole of the sand of those 117,649 Gangās would be one *sara* period; and 300,000 of such *sara* periods make one *mahākappa* period; and 8,400,000 of these *mahākappas* make one *mahāmāṇasa* period.'

[22] *Bālo* and *paṇḍito* have the theological sense; the fool is the 'worldly,' and the wise, the 'religious'; of course, from Gosāla's point of view.

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The expression *he cherishes immature (knowledge) (a-paripakkaṃ,* scl. *ñāṇaṃ, paripāceti)* describes one who, thinking himself to be a wise man, becomes (as he fondly imagines) perfected within a shorter time (than 8,400,000 'great periods'). The expression *he more and more removes from himself mature (knowledge) (paripakkaṃ phussa phussa vyantikaroti)* describes one who, thinking himself to be a fool, (fondly imagines that he) may go beyond the period limited as above stated.

By the expression *it is not so (hevan n'atthi)* he means to show that it is impossible that either of the two cases should happen.[23]

The expression *doṇa-measured (doṇa-mita)* means 'measured, as it were, with a droṇa.'

The terms *pleasure and pain (sukkha-dukkha)* have their ordinary meaning.

The expression *one who has reached the end (kaṭa-pariyanta)* means 'one whose end coincides with the end of the period limited as above stated'.

The expression *there is neither decrease nor increase (n'atthi hāyana-vaḍḍhana)* means that there is no diminution nor any augmentation. His meaning is, that the period of transmigratory existence neither decreases in the case of the wise, nor increases in the case of the fool.

The terms *raising* and *lowering (ukkaṃs'āvakaṃsa)* he uses as synonyms of 'increase' and decrease.'

Finally clinching this theory of his by a simile, he adds the words *just as (seyyathāpi nāma)* and so forth. In that simile, by the expression *a ball of string (sutta-gula)* he means 'a ball of string which is fully wound up'; and by the expression *it opens out just so far as it can be unwound*

[23] *I. e.,* either falling short of, or exceeding the above-stated limit of 8,400,000 'great periods.'

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(*nibbeṭhiyamānam eva phaleti*) he means that a ball of string which is thrown from a mount or from the top of a tree goes on unwinding just so far as the length of the string allows; when the string is run out, it stops there and goes no further. Even so, he means to show, can a fool not go beyond the time above stated.[24]

From the same work, II, 3, pp. 143, 144.

Then another began to speak, thinking within himself that he would now relate the story of his particular confidant. Hence it is said *another then also* (*aññataro pi kho*) and so forth, all which is to be understood exactly as before explained.

Now here by the word *Makkhali* is meant that that was his name, and by the word *Gosāla*, that that was his second name (given to him) on account of his having been born in a cow-shed. Regarding him, it is said that (seeing him) walking on a muddy piece of ground, with an oil-pot in his hand, the owner of it said to him: "My dear man, take care lest you stumble!" He, from carelessness, having stumbled and fallen, began to flee away through fear of the owner. The owner, having run up, caught the edge of his garment. He letting go his cloth, fled away naked. The rest is the same as in the case of Pūraṇa.[25]

[24] This simile, and the doctrine it illustrates, will also be found in the corresponding passage in Rokhill (*Life of the Buddha*, p. 104).

[25] The account of Pūraṇa is given in the preceding sections of the work, II, 2, pp. 142, 143. The same story of Gosāla will be found in Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 301. He is there said to have been the son of a slave of the owner of the cow-shed in which he was born; and it was the same owner of the cow-shed that he run away from. He is then said to have fled to a village, the people of which received him kindly and offered him clothes; but he refused to put them on, hoping thus to be respected as a 'holy man' or arhat.

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APPENDIX III.

Additions and Emendations

ad § 12, p. 10.

With regard to the standing phrase "many kings, princes, nobles, etc.," see Prof. A. Weber's remarks in *Indische Studien*, vol. XVII, p. 26, footnote 1.

I have used the word tonsure as a convenient translation for *muṇḍa*. But it may be well to note that, originally at least, the process was not one of cutting or shaving the hair of the head, but of plucking it out in handfuls. Thus it is related of Mahāvīra himself that, when he adopted the ascetic life, "he plucked out with his right and left (hands) on the right and left (sides of his head) his hair in five handfuls" (see Āchārānga Sūtra, II, 15, p. 199 in Jacobi's Translation).

ad § 12, p. 11.

The phrase *ahāsuhaṃ, Devāṇuppiyā, mā paḍibandhaṃ kareha*, which I have translated 'may it so please you, O beloved of the devas, do not deny me!', as the concluding words of Āṇanda, addressed to Mahāvīra, is treated differently by Dr. Leumann, in his *Beziehungen der Jaina-Literatur zu andern Literaturkreisen Indiens*, p. 57. The phrase occurs in a very similar connection, at the end of a speech of king Paesī addressed to the ascetic Kesī, a follower of Pāsa (or Pārshwa). Dr. Leumann separates it from Paesī's speech, and puts it into the mouth of Kesī as his reply to Paesī: "Well then, O beloved of the devas, do not cause any obstruction."[1]

[1] "Wohlan denn, mein Lieber, verursache keine Störung."

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This interpretation appears to me untenable. The phrase is one which occurs frequently, and as a rule in the same connection, namely, at the termination of a request of some one to a religious preceptor to be instructed by the latter in his religious tenets, or to receive some other indulgence (*e. g.*, in § 77). In this connection, the phrase in the mouth of the religious preceptor, is quite incongruous. Why should he warn the supplicant **against** causing any obstruction (Störung)? That, surely, is the last thing the petitioner is thinking of at the time! He is burning with desire to listen to the preceptor, and is all eagerness, lest he should be denied by him. Moreover the grammatical form of the phrase necessitates the interpretation which I have given to it. The verb is *kareha*, i. e., the second person plural. A religious preceptor addressing a supplicant or disciple, always uses the singular; while the latter, addressing a religious preceptor, always uses the plural. If the phrase were spoken by the religious preceptor, he would say *karehi*. Thus in §§ 84, 85, Goyama (the monk) speaking to Āṇanda (the layman) says *paḍivajjāhi* (sing.) 'do thou take upon thee,' but Āṇanda speaking to Goyama says *paḍivajjaha* (plur.) 'do you take upon yourself'; again in § 86, Mahāvīra himself speaking to Goyama (his disciple) says *paḍivajjāhi* (sing.) 'do thou take upon thee.'

With regard to the term *devāṇuppiyā*, the discovery of the word *anuppiya* (Skr. *anupriya*) 'pleasant,' by Dr. Morris (in his *Notes and Queries*, p. 117, in the *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* for 1886) may be worth noting. It would explain, in a very natural manner, the formation of the term *devāṇuppiya = deva + aṇuppiya*, 'agreeable to the devas,' (Skr. *deva + anupriya*). The usual explanation by *devāṇu + ppiya*, assumes that *devāṇu* is an anomalous modification of the genitive plural *devāṇaṃ* (Skr. *devānām priya*), see Weber's *Fragment der Bhagavatī*, pp. 188, 405, Jacobi's *Kalpasūtra*,

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Glossary, etc. E. Müller in his *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jaina Prākrit* (p. 15) rightly says, that *devāṇu*, taken as a genitive plural, is "a very strange form for which no analogy has been found either in the inscriptions or the Gāthās of the Northern Buddhists." It has been supposed (by Jacobi in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, vol. XXXIV, p. 255, and Aurel Stein in the *Oriental and Babylonian Record* for August 1887) that the title *sāhāṇusāhi* 'Shāh of Shāhs' (or king of kings) offers an analogous formation. The word occurs twice in the Jain book, Kālakāchārya Kathānaka (Jacobi's edition, *Journ. Germ. Orient. Soc.*, vol. XXXIV, p. 262), as a title of the Shaka (Trans-Indus Scythian) kings. It is rightly explained as a combination of *sāhāṇu* (gen. plur.) plus *sāhi*. But I much doubt whether it has any right to be considered as an analogous form justifying the usual explanation of the title *devāṇuppiya*. In the Kālakāchārya Kathānaka it is evidently quoted as the foreign title of the Shaka kings, but not as an indigenous (Prākrit) formation. It has been rightly pointed out by Dr. Stein, that "the construction of the phrase is distinctly un-Indian," and that, "in fact (it exhibits) the genuine Iranian ending of the genitive plural of thematic stems." It has further been shown that the old Persian ending *ānām* becomes *ānăm* or *ānă* in Zend, and *ānŏ* or *ān* in the Middle-Persian or Pahlavī; see Dr. Kirste's paper on PAONANO PAO, in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. II, No. 3, p. 241. It seems clear, therefore, that the Prākrit form *sāhāṇu* is merely an Indian attempt at representing the older Pahlavī form *shāhānŏ*, the final *u* being meant to represent the obscure final after-sound *ŏ*. If this be so, it is also clear that the foreign form *sāhāṇu-sāhi*[2] cannot be adduced to

[2] The proper spelling of the title is *sāhi* (साहि) or *ṣāhi* (षाहि) or *shāhi* (शाहि), as found in ancient inscriptions and on coins. The short *i* is merely an indistinct after-sound, commonly used in India

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explain the essentially indigenous Prākrit form *devāṇuppiya*;—at least, till it has been shown that the latter word is a Pahlavī importation into the old Prākrit. In the meanwhile I would suggest, that the two phrases *devānaṃ piya* or *devāna piya*,[3] occurring in the (Buddhist) Ashoka inscriptions, and *devāṇuppiya*, occuring in the Jain records, though having the same meaning, are based on different derivations, the former being Skr. *devānāṃ priya*, the latter, Skr. *deva-anupriya*. It appears to me also, that if the Jain word were really equivalent to Prākrit *devāṇaṃ piyà* or *devāṇa piya*, it would probably be spelled *devāṇupiya* (*devāṇù piya* with one *p*), and not *devāṇuppiya*. Another proof in the same direction is the occurrence of the same title in the Sanskrit inscription of Samudra Gupta on the Allahabad pillar, in the form *ṣāhāna-ṣāhi* (see *Journal*, As. Soc. Beng., Vol. VI, pp. 974, 977). Here the termination *āna* (in *ṣāhāna*) is as little a modification of the Sanskrit gen. plur. termination *ānām*, as *āṇu* (in *sāhāṇu*) is of the Prākrit gen. plur. termination *āṇaṃ* or *āṇa*. Both, the Sanskrit as well as the Prākrit, are clearly mere transcripts of a foreign title, the Prākrit, however, preserving the somewhat more antique form with the after-sound *u*, while the Sanskrit transcribes simply the Pahlavī termination *ān*.

ad § 12, note 20, p. 11.

According to Muni Ātmārām-jī, the *guṇavrata* or 'salutary vows' are called so, because they confer additional merit or excellence on the *aṇu-vrata* or 'lesser vows' (*aṇuvratā̃ ko*

(even at the present day) after *h*. The form with final long ī (*sāhī* साही) is really a false spelling, which probably arose from the loose Indian way of using the symbols for the short and long vowels *u* and *i*. The word, even at the present day, is never pronounced *shāhī*, but either *shāh* or *shāhi*, however loosely it may be written.

[3] Both forms, with and without the anusvāra, are met with.

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guṇa hotā hai or *aṇuvratā̃ kā vṛiddhi hotī hai*). Perhaps it might be better to say, that they are called so because they confer additional merit on the person who keeps them in addition to the 'lesser vows.' The term, therefore, should be rather translated 'meritorious vows.'

The term *shikṣā*, in *shikṣā-vrata* or 'disciplinary vows,' is explained by the Muni to mean 'repeated exercise' or 'repeated discipline' (*bār bār abhyās kar'nā)*; and those vows are said to be so called, because they are taken upon one's self for a short time, while the *aṇuvrata* or 'lesser vows' and the *guṇavrata* or 'meritorious vows' are taken upon one's self for one's whole life. The intention of the former is, to discipline a person from time to time in the keeping true to one's religious profession. These remarks of the Muni will help further to explain Abhayadeva's remarks referred to in my note 65, on page 26.

As the subject of the enumeration of the twelve vows is beset with some obscurities, it may be useful to explain it in detail. The vows themselves are enumerated in §§ 13—43, and the typical offences against them in §§ 45—56.

In § 12, Āṇanda promises to take on himself all the twelve vows; *viz.*, the five 'lesser' and the seven 'disciplinary' vows. The latter comprise two classes; *viz.*, the three 'meritorious' vows, and the four proper 'disciplinary' vows. Having made this general promise, Āṇanda next proceeds to actually take on himself eight vows; *viz.*, the five 'lesser' and the three 'meritorious' ones. The remaining four 'disciplinary' vows, he does not take on himself at this point of time, but is allowed to defer them till the proper occasion for taking them should arise. In taking, however, those eight vows on himself, he is made to enumerate and define in detail the several points in which they will have particular application to himself; for these points would naturally vary in accordance with the differing cir-

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cumstances of the different individuals that took the vows. Accordingly, his taking of the five 'lesser' vows is detailed in §§ 13—19, three paragraphs (§§ 17, 18, 19) being devoted to the fifth 'lesser vow' about the limitation of property. With § 20 the detailed enumeration of the three 'meritorious vows' begins; and §§ 20 and 21 refer to the *digvrata* or the 'vow of the quarters.' It is curious that this vow is not referred to with its technical name *disivvaya*, unless it be disguised in the term *disāyattiya* or 'travelling into foreign parts' applied to both the carts and the boats. But that the two paragraphs 20 and 21 refer to this 'vow of the quarters,' and not (as it may seem at first sight) to the 'vow of the limitation of property,' is made clear by two considerations. Firstly, if §§ 20, 21 referred to the latter vow, the 'vow of the quarters' would be entirely omitted. Secondly, the property in §§ 17, 18, 19 is detailed as being wealth in money, in animals and in land; and practically the same details we find repeated in § 49, where the offences against the 'vow of the limitation of property' are mentioned. In §§ 22—42 the 'vow regarding things of reiterate and momentary use' (*uvabhoga-paribhoga-parimāṇa*) is given in very minute detail. Finally in § 43 the 'vow regarding unprofitable employment' (*aṇaṭṭhā-daṇḍa-veramaṇa*) is detailed. Here, after § 43, the four 'disciplinary vows' should have followed in detail. They are, however, omitted, because, as they are not taken for life, there was no need to take them at that time (at the commencement of the sāvaga-hood); they are reserved to be taken when the proper occasion arises. Hence Mahāvīra proceeds at once, in § 45, to detail the offences against the three classes of vows. In §§ 45—49 the typical offences against the five 'lesser vows' are enumerated. In §§ 50—52 the typical offences against the three 'meritorious vows' are detailed. In §§ 53—56 the typical offences against the

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four 'disciplinary vows' are specified. Finally the two §§ 44 and 57 constitute a sort of introduction and appendix to the subject of the offences; § 44 enumerates the typical offences against the true religious profession of a sāvaga generally; and § 57 details those against the final and crowning act of a sāvaga's religious profession, *viz.*, his religious suicide.

I may add that the subject of the introductory paragraph 44 constitutes the first 'standard' (*paḍimā*) of an uvāsaga (see p. 40). The subject of §§ 45—52, *i. e.*, both the 'lesser' and the 'meritorious' vows and their respective 'offences', constitute the second 'standard.'[4] Lastly the subject of §§ 53—56, *i. e.*, the 'disciplinary' vows and their 'offences,' constitute the third and fourth 'standards'; this may be seen from the terms of the fifth 'standard.' Only two of the four 'disciplinary' vows, *viz.*, the first one of inward peace and the third one of the posaha abstinences, are expressly named in the third and fourth 'standards' respectively. Perhaps these two vows were regarded as the most important of the set and thus typical of the other two, of which the second one 'of the quarters' must be considered as implicitly included in the third 'standard', and the fourth one 'of the right distribution of alms,' in the fourth 'standard'. The remaining 'standards,' from the fifth to the eleventh, seem to be intended to gradually prepare the uvāsaga for the crowning act of his life, his religious suicide.

Perhaps it may be worth noting, that besides the lumping together of the three 'meritorious' and the four 'disciplinary' vows under the general term 'seven disciplinary' vows, there is another point of divergence between the

[4] The 'lesser' vows are directly named in the terms of the standard, but the 'meritorious' vows are indirectly included in the term "virtues of compassion, etc."

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Uvāsagadasāo (an Anga) and the Ovavāī Sutta (an Upānga). The serial order of the 'meritorious' vows in the two books differs; the Uvāsagadasāo places the vow of 'unprofitable employment' (*aṇaṭṭhā-daṇḍa*) last among the three (and so does Muni Ātmārām-jī in the list given me by him), while the Ovavāī Suṭta gives it the first place.

Information on the subject of these vows may be obtained, as Muni Ātmārām-jī informs me, from the following works: 1, Haribhadra's commentary (*ṭīkā*) on the Āvashyaka-niryukti the 6th chapter (*adhyayana*) on the renunciations (*pratyākhyāna*)[5]; 2, In Umāsvāti's *Shrāvaka-Prajñapti*,[6] and Haribhadra's commentary (*ṭīkā*) on the same; 3, Haribhadra's *Dharmabindu*, with Munichandra's commentary[7]; 4, Hemachandra's *Yogashāstra*; 5, the *Panchāshaka* (without mention of author); 6, the *Pravachana Sarodhāra* (also without mention of author)[8]; and others (not named).

ad § 13, note 21, p. 12.

With regard to the 'three forms' of doing evil for a Jain monk, I may note a Buddhist testimony mentioned in Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 277. It occurs in a conversation of Buddha with Upāli, a lay-follower of Mahāvīra. Buddha said to him: "The tirttakas (*i. e.* tīrthakas or Nig-

[5] See Weber's catalogue of the Berlin MSS., pp. 762, 784, also his *Indische Studien*, vol. XVII, p. 75.

[6] On the name of the author see p. 50, footnote. I cannot find this work noted in any of the collections in Europe.

[7] A MS. of this work seems to exist in the Royal Library at Berlin. See Journal, G. O. S., vol. XXXIII, p. 481.

[8] A MS. of this work is named in Professor Jacobi's collection, Journal, G. O. S., vol. XXXIII, p. 695, where it is ascribed to Nemichandra. Another is in the Royal Library of Berlin, *ibid.*, p. 481, together with a commentary by Siddhasena. A MS. of the latter is also mentioned in Dr. Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, vol. VIII, pp. 177, 178.

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ganthas) do not take life, nor cause others to take life, nor do they approve of those who take life; they do not steal, nor cause others to steal, nor approve of those who steal; they do not lie, nor cause others to lie, nor approve of those who lie; they do not indulge in evil desire, nor cause others to indulge in evil desire, nor approve of those who indulge in evil desire. In these things we are agreed. But they say that in cold water, decayed wood, leaves and sugar there are worms; now if any one crush an insect, when walking or from any similar cause, what will be the consequence, according to the teaching of Nigganthanātha (*i. e.* Mahāvīra)?" Upāli answers, that it will be a sin.

ad § 23, note 27, p. 15.

With regard to the tooth-brush, see Grierson's *Bihār Peasant Life*, § 747. The modern Hindī word is *datuvan* or *datuan* or *datūn* or *dataun* or *dãtan*.

ad § 24, note 28, p. 15.

With regard to the *āmalaka* fruit, as an article of food, see the story related in Beal's *Siyuki* or *Buddhist Record of the Western world*, vol. II, pp. 95, 96. It is there related of a minister of king Ashoka, how, having eaten one half of an āmalaka fruit, he placed the other half in the hands of the king, who afterwards made it an offering to a monastery.

ad § 35, note 36, p. 17.

With regard to the seedling-rice, see Hemachandra's *Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi*, verse 1169 (line 45, p. 218 in Böhtlingk's edition), where among the seedling-rice (*shāli*) two, called *kalama* and *kalāmaka* are enumerated. The seedling-rice is "generally sown with the first rains in Jeṭh (May-June); it is transplanted in Sāwan (July-August); and the regular harvest is held in Aghan (November-December)"; see Grierson's *Bihār Peasant Life*, § 971.

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ad § 39, note 42, p. 19.

The South Indian name of the *pāḷangā* is also pronounced *pārangī*; see J. S. Gamble's *Manual of Indian Timbers.*

ad § 55, note 87, p. 32.

With regard to the *posaha*-fast it should be noted that it is not a weekly sacred day, for it occurs six times in every month; *viz.*, 1, on the eighth day of the dark half-month, 2, on the fourteenth of the dark half-month, 3, on the day of the new moon (*amāvāsyā*), 4, on the eighth day of the light half, 5, on the fourteenth day of the light half, and 6, on the day of the full moon (*pūrṇimā*). This is Muni Ātmārām-jī's explicit statement. The days of the new moon and the full moon are, of course, the days immediately following the fourteenth of the respectively preceding half-months; they are accordingly the fifteenth days of the respective half-months; and, therefore, two *posaha*-days, the fourteenth and fifteenth, always fall in immediate juxta-position. These two days, falling always together, may be looked upon as constituting *one* sacred time. It is only in this inaccurate sense, that the Jains may be said to have a 'weekly sacred day.' It would be more accurate to say, that they have a 'weekly sacred time', two of which times consist of one day each, while the two others consist of two days each, altogether six days.[9] I imagine that with the Buddhists the case is not different, though Childers in his dictionary, under *uposatho* states that the day "occurs four times in the month" and that "it is therefore a weekly festival." His enumeration of the so-called "four days," however, is confused and evidently misunderstood; for he

[9] The days here referred to are, of course, lunar days (*tithi*), which vary between 20 and 26 hours. The mean length of a lunar day is about 23 hours and 37 minutes. See Jacobi's *Tables for Hindu Dates* in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, p. 145.

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explains the *chatuddasī* as the day when there is no moon, while the *panchadasī* is said by him to be the full moon; but, clearly, the day preceding the full moon could not be a day without a moon! It seems to me evident, that the Buddhists have the same six *posaha*-days as the Jains, and arranged in the same way, so that two *posaha*-days, the fourteenth and fifteenth, always fall together; and these two days, as Childers states, "are devoted by the priests to the special ceremony of reading the *pātimokkha*."

Information about the *posaha* and its rites may be found in the work called Vidhi Prakaraṇa, on which see Dr. Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. VIII, No. 2594, p. 49.

ad § 71, note 127, p. 46.

The Prākrit verses, descriptive of the eleven standards, which are quoted in Abhayadeva's commentary (pp. 26—29), may be translated as follows. I follow in the translation a Hindī paraphrase, kindly supplied to me by Muni Ātmārām-jī. His explanations are given in the footnotes. See also the additional note on p. 36.

1. *The Standard of Right Views.*

A living being that is proof against the darts of doubt etc., and has acquired right views, but is still released from (keeping) the other virtues,[10] is said to be keeping the first standard.

2. *The Standard of the Vows.*

Having acquired the standard of right views, the living being that now observes the lesser vows without fail and acquires the virtues of compassion etc., is said to be keeping the standard of the vows.

3. *The Standard of Inward Peace.*

Having acquired the standards of right views and the

[10] *I. e.*, 'from keeping the five lesser vows and the seven disciplinary vows.' See § 12, note 20.

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vows, he who now, in the morning and evening,[11] maintains inward peace, in the highest form, (viz.) for three months, is said to be keeping the standard of inward peace.

4. *The Standard of the Posaha-Abstinences.*

Having acquired the afore-mentioned standards, he who now thoroughly observes the posaha-abstinences on the eighth, the fourteenth and the others days,[12] for four months, is said to be keeping the fourth standard.

5. *The Standard of the Statuesque Posture.*

Having acquired right views and (the keeping of) the (five) lesser, the (three) meritorious and the (four) disciplinary vows, and being firm and well-instructed in them, he now assumes, on the eighth and fourteenth days (of the month), a statuesque posture[13] during the whole night.

He does not bathe; he eats at an unseasonable hour; he keeps the folds of his loin-cloth tied up; he exercises continence by day; and at night, on the days not devoted to the statuesque posture, he imposes a limit on himself.[14]

11 *Viz.*, Hindī "*donõ sandhyāõ mẽ*", 'at both sandhyās.'

12 *I. e.*, 'the eighth, the fourteenth, the new-moon and the full-moon of each month.' The posaha-abstinences are four: abstaining from food, etc.' See § 55, note 87, and App. III, p. 39.

13 *I. e.*, the pose of a *pratimā* or sacred image or statue of a Jina. The 'statuesque posture' is thus described by Muni Ātmārām-jī. "The penitent is to stand erect, with the head slightly bent down; he is to keep his eyes open and look fixedly straight before his nose at a lifeless object; he is to let both his arms hang down at full length, but so as not to touch his body; he is to place his two feet parallel to each other, but the width of four fingers (about 3 inches) apart: and he is not to move any part of his body." This description evidently coincides with the well-known standing figures of Mahāvīra and other Tīrthankaras.

14 *I. e.*, 'with regard to conjugal enjoyment.' By 'unseason-

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While standing up in the statuesque posture, he meditates for five months on the Jinas who are worshipped in the three worlds as the conquerors of the passions, or else on his own spiritual foes.

6. *The Standard of Abstention from Incontinence.*

Having acquired the afore-said virtues, and more specially having conquered sensual desires, he now, with a firm mind, abstains from incontinence even in the privacy of the night.

He avoids erotic talk, nor stays alone with a woman; he also eschews much (female) society and (all) excessive adornment.

Thus he conducts himself for six months. Nevertheless it must be understood, that in this world he abstains from those things throughout life.[15]

7. *The Standard of Abstention from Living Food.*

Having fully attained the other (afore-mentioned) steps, he now abstains, without exception, from living food, whether in eating (or drinking) etc.,[16] for seven months, according to the order of sequence.

8. *The Standard of Abstention from Acting by One's self.*

Having attained the previously-mentioned virtues, he now for eight months abstains from doing himself any blameable acts,[17] but causes it to be done by his servants, if needed for his livelihood.

able hour' is meant 'eating in day-time,' instead of at night or rather late in the evening. The remark about the loin-cloth is in Hindī *dhotī kī lā̃gar ṭā̃ge.*

[15] *I. e.*, 'Abstinence from incontinence in every shape (in deed, talk and thought) is incumbent on a Jain layman at all times of his life, but here it is enjoined on him in a special manner.'

[16] For the four kinds of food: meat, drink, relishes, delicacies, see § 58, note 100.

[17] *I. e.*, 'acts which involve any taking of life.

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9. *The Standard of Abstention from Acting through Servants.*

Having attained the before-mentioned virtues, he now, for nine months in the order of sequence, abstains from causing to be done by his servants any blameable act of a gross kind.

10. *The Standard of Abstention from Lawful Food.*

He now abstains even from lawful cooked-food, how much more from all other[17]; he also shaves his head with a razor or, it may be, wears a mere tuft of hair.

Being asked about business, if he knows it, he speaks; if not, he does not speak. (In this manner) having attained the before-mentioned virtues, (he lives) for ten months, according to the order of time.

11. *The Standard of Becoming an Ascetic.*

Having shaved (the hair of) his head with a razor or having plucked it out, and carrying a dusting-broom and a begging-bowl, he now, in the garb of an ascetic, wanders about, observing the (ascetic) law in his body.

In this way he wanders about, (keeping it) in the highest form, (viz.) for eleven months, observing at the same time all (the other standárds) at the rate of one day (two days) etc.[18]

I have not been able to identify the work from which the

[18] *I. e.*, "during the eleven months' period of this standard, while he lives as an ascetic, he observes all the eleven standards, in regular turn, at the rate of days instead of months, *i. e.* in the large way or highest from (*ukkosenaṃ*) the eleven standards are kept during one, two, three, etc. up to 11 months; in a small way they are now kept during one, two, three, etc up to 11 days in regularly succeeding series throughout the period of the eleventh standard." This is Muni Ātmārām-ji's explanation, if I understand him correctly. Of course, (as he explains) it is understood, that any point in any of the preceding standards which is inconsistent with the eleventh standard of ascetic life may not be observed; in fact,

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verses, above-translated, are quoted by Abhayadeva. Muni Ātmārām-jī informs me, that similar verses on the eleven standards may be found in about a dozen different Jain books, but that he is not aware of any book which gives the identical verses quoted by Abhayadeva, though possibly they may be contained in some book which he has not read.

ad § 74, note 132, p. 48.

On the five kinds of knowledge, see also the Introduction to Jacobi's translation of the Āchārānga Sūtra, pp. xxxiii, xxxiv, (*in Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXII); also Dr. Leumann's *Beziehungen zur Jaina-Literature*, p. 44, quoted from the Rāyapaseṇaijja.

Muni Ātmārām-jī writes to me that by the *ohi-ṇāṇa* or 'limited knowledge' the Jains understand that 'one's power of knowing is limited to material or physical objects (*rūpī-vastu*), and that by material objects are meant all things from an atom (*paramāṇu*) to anything possessing the qualities of colour, smell, taste, touch, sound.' The *ohi-ṇāṇa*, accordingly, differs from the *kevala-ṇāṇa* or 'absolute knowledge,' in as much as 'the former is limited to material objects, while the latter extends to both material and immaterial objects' (*rūpī-arūpī padārtha*). This agrees with my remark, that the *ohi-ṇāṇa* cannot go beyond the limits of physical objects, or as Prof. Weber (in the *Berlin MSS. Catalogue*, p. 486) says: "it is the power to see everything that lies within the material limits of the six quarters."

ad § 74, p. 48.

Instead of 'his patient avoidance of the taint of all acts that tend to prevent its acquisition' read 'his patient endurance of the cessation of all acts that tend to obstruct its acquisition,' as translated in note 274.

this difficulty can never arise, as the ten standards are now kept simultaneously, and thus neutralise any inconsistency.

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ad § 76, p. 50.

The correct translation of the epithet *vajja-risaha-nārāya-sanghayaṇe, i. e.*, 'with joints firmly knit (as if) by mortise, collar and pin', I owe to Muni Ātmārām-jī, who explained it to me in Hindī and referred me to Abhayadeva's Sanskrit interpretation in his commentary to the Sthānānga Sūtra (Benares ed., p. 413*a*). According to the latter, *vajja* (Skr. *vajra*) means a linch-pin or bolt (*kīlikā*), *risaha* (Skr. *ṛiṣabha*) means an encircling strap *pariveṣṭana-paṭṭa*, a 'collar' or 'coupling-box', and *nārāya* (Skr. *nārācha*) means a double tenon-and-mortise-joint (*ubhayato markaṭa-bandha*). Hence when two bones are joined by double tenon and mortise, and encircled by a third bone in the form of a collar, and fixed by a fourth bone in the form of a pin that pierces the third bone, then such a joint is called a 'mortise-collar-and-pin-joint.' The Sthānānga Sūtra enumerates six different kinds of joints (*sanghayaṇa*); among them the above-described one is the firmest; another kind is the 'double mortise-and-collar-joint', another the 'double mortise-joint', another the 'single mortise-joint', and so forth. The *nārācha* or *markaṭa-bandha* is thus explained by the Muni: *donō haḍḍiyō ke chhehaḍe paraspar gāṛhe sangīn mile hūe, i. e.*, 'the ends of both bones, being let into one another, are firmly joined.' The result is a double mortise-joint or what is known as the dovetail-joint. The single mortise-joint is merely a tenon inserted in a hole. Abhayadeva, however, mentions also an alternative interpretation of the epithet, which he says is preferred by some other people. According to this interpretation, the phrase describes 'a kind of strength' (*shakti-visheṣa*) and is to be taken figuratively; namely, that the joint has the strength of a bolt etc. (*dāru-āder iva*). After all, I am not sure that this alternative interpretation, though it is not the traditionally accepted one, is not the more probable and more natural of the two.

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ad § 94, p. 65.

The description of the pisāya may be compared with that of an *ifrīt* in the tale of the fisherman and the Jinnī,as given in Captain Burton's translation of the Arabian Nights, vol. I, p. 41. "His head was as a dome, his hands like pitchforks, his legs long as masts, and his mouth big as a cave; his teeth were like large stones, his nostrils ewers, his eyes two lamps, and his look was fierce and lowering."

ad note 191, p. 72.

In Abhayadeva's commentary to the Vipāka Sūtra (Calcutta edition, p. 90) the word is spelled *āsurutte* and explained thus: *āshu shīghraṃ ruṣṭaḥ* (v. l. *ruptaḥ*) *krodhena vimohito yaḥ sa āsurutta, āsuraṃ vā asura-satkaṃ kopanaṃ* (v. l. *kopena*) *vā 'ruṇatvād uktaṃ bhaṇitaṃ yasya sa āsuroktaḥ*, *i. e.*, 'he who is quickly enraged or disturbed by anger, or to whom, on account of his red colour, asura-like wrathfulness is ascribed, is (called) *āsurutta* (Skr. *āshu-ruṣṭa* or *āsur'okta*).' A portion of the same explanation is repeated, in the same commentary (*ibid.*, p. 239): *āsurutte tti āshu shīghraṃ ruṣṭaḥ* (v. l. *ruptaḥ*) *kopena vimohitaḥ*, *i. e.*, '*āsurutta* is he who is quickly enraged or disturbed by wrath.' In the Sanskrit translation which accompanies the Bhagavatī in the Benares edition (p. 1217*b*) the word is also rendered by *āshu-ruṣṭaḥ* 'quickly angered.' It would appear from these explanations and renderings, that the derivation from *āshu* was preferred to that (certainly more fanciful one) from *āsura*; and this confirms my suggestion in note 191. Both traditional explanations only attempt to account for the form *āsurutte*, which in Abhayadeva's time would appear to have been considered more correct than *āsuratte*. The identification of the Prākrit *rutta*, however, with Sanskrit *ruṣṭa*, being unsupported by any rule of Prākrit Grammar, was clearly felt to be unsatisfactory; and

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this circumstance, probably, accounts for the alternative explanation by the Sanskrit *āsur'okta*, of which *āsurutta* would be the regular Prākrit equivalent. The explanation by the Sanskrit *āshu-rupta* (which is occasionally found as a *varia lectio*) looks very much like an after-thought, to account for *āsurutta* without having recourse to the anomalous *āshuruṣṭa* or the fanciful *āsur'okta*. The root *rup* is, in all root-collections and dictionaries, said to have the meaning of *vimoha* or *vimohana* 'disturbation' or 'infatuation'; but I cannot find that that meaning is anywhere supported by any quotation from old Sanskrit literature. It can, therefore, hardly be considered a satisfactory means of explaining the ancient Prākrit word *āsurutta*. But the difficulty in explaining the origin of the latter is much reduced, if we take the 'various reading' *āsuratte* as the original form of the word, of which the form *āsurutte* is a modification produced by the assimilation of adjacent vowels. For the form *āsuratta* the Sanskrit word *āshu-rakta* offers a sufficiently satisfactory source.

ad § 114, n. 222, p. 84.

With regard to the *parīsaha* and *uvasagga*, Muni Ātmā-rām-jī has kindly supplied me with the following information. *Parīsaha* means 'things with regard to which patience must be exercised,' or shortly 'trials of patience.' *Uvasagga* means 'an assault,' namely an assault made on a sādhu (see § 12, note 18) for the purpose of perverting him. Of *parīsahas*, there are the following twenty-two: 1. *kṣut* or 'hunger;' the sādhu is to suffer hunger rather than eat any unlawful food. 2, *Pipāsā* or 'thirst'; the sādhu is to suffer thirst rather than partake of any forbidden drink. 3, *Shīta* or 'cold'; a sādhu is to suffer cold rather than exchange his worn-out clothes for unlawful ones; and if he otherwise (being a naked monk) suffer cold he is not to warm himself

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by a fire. 4, *Uṣṇa* or 'heat'; if a sādhu be troubled by excessive heat, he is not to step into water, or bathe, or fan himself. 5, *Daṃsha-mashaka* or 'stinging fly'; if a sādhu be bitten by musquitos or other insects, he is not to remove to another place, or drive them away by smoke or with a fan. 6, *Achela* or *nāgnya* or 'nakedness'; a sādhu should content himself with worn-out or tattered clothes rather than beg or accept unlawful ones; or if he be a *jinakalpī* (*i. e.*, a naked monk), he must be content to suffer the pains of it. 7, *Arati* or 'low-spiritedness'; if a sādhu feels cast down, he must only seek spiritual consolation in the Law. 8, *Strī* or 'woman'; a sādhu must withstand all temptations arising from the thought or sight of a woman's beauties and graces, or from her solicitations. 9, *Charyā* or 'wandering mendicancy'; a sādhu must be content to bear the trials incident on the eight months' peregrination that is incumbent on him as an ascetic; for four months (during the rainy season) he may rest. 10, *Niṣadyā* or 'dwelling'; a sādhu may only reside in places where there are neither women nor animals (*pashu*) nor eunuchs (*napuṃsaka*); and he is not to be anxious as to whether his dwelling is agreeable or disagreeable. 11, *Shayyā* or 'bed'; a sādhu is not to care whether his bed be high or low, hard or soft, dusty or clean, well- or ill-ventilated. 12, *Akrosha* or 'abuse'; a sādhu is to bear patiently abuses and revilings. 13, *Badha* or 'beating'; the sādhu is to suffer patiently beatings with sticks or other objects. 14, *Yāchanā* or 'begging'; the sādhu must not be ashamed to beg, seeing that it is his duty to live by alms. 15, *Alābha* or 'refusal'; if the sādhu is refused alms, he must not be angry or disappointed. 16, *Roga* or 'sickness'; the sādhu is to bear patiently all sickness of his body. 17, *Triṇa-sparsha* or 'pricking of grass'; if a spread of grass be given to a sādhu, and he be ill-provided with clothes or have none at all, he must nevertheless take his rest on it, unmindful

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of the prickings of the grass. 18, *Mala* or 'dirt'; a sādhu may not remove, by bathing, the dirt that has gathered on his body through perspiration or contact with mud, but must patiently bear all troubles arising therefrom. 19, *Satkāra-puraskāra* or 'respect and attention'; if honour is done to a sādhu, he is not to rejoice, nor is he to repine, if none is done to him. 20, *Prajñā* or 'intelligence'; a sādhu is not to feel proud, if he excels in intelligence, nor be downcast, if he fails to do so. 21, *Jñāna* or 'knowledge'; a sādhu is not to feel proud, if he possesses much knowledge (of sacred lore), nor feel pained at possessing little of it. 22, *Ādarshana* or 'want of sight'; a sādhu is not to think that, because heaven and hell, etc. are not objects of sight, therefore they do not exist, and that therefore it is useless for him to undergo difficult religious duties for their sake.

Uvasaggas or 'assaults' are of four principal kinds; *viz.*, arising from devas, from men, from animals, and from one's own body.[12] Each of these again may be of four kinds, so that there are altogether sixteen kinds of 'assaults.' They are as follows: (*a*) from devas, 1, by ridicule, 2, by malice, 3, by temptation, 4, by all those three combined; (*b*) from men, 5, by ridicule, 6, by malice, 7, by temptation, 8, by incitement to sexual and other immoral practices; (*c*) from animals, 9, by inspiring fear, 10, by inflicting harm, 11, in search of food, 12, in defence of their young or their dwelling; (*d*) from one's own body, 13, by injuring the eye with one's hand or by the growth of swellings on the neck or on other parts, 14, by falling from carelessness, 15, by rheumatic stiffness in the feet or other parts, 16, by contraction (*juḍ jānā*) of the hands or feet or other limbs.

[12] On this subject there would appear to be two different traditional doctrines. According to that represented in § 119 the *uvasaggas* are only of three principal kinds, *i. e.* from devas, men and animals only.

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The above information on the *parīsaha* is obtained from the ninth lecture *(adhyāya)* of Umāsvāti's *Tattvārtha Sūtra,*[13] and that on the *uvasagga,* from the fourth chapter

[13] On this work see Dr. Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. VII, p. 187, No. 2428. Muni Ātmārām-jī spells the name of its author twice distinctly *Umāsvāti.* He adds, that there is a *bhāṣya* to it by the same author, and a *ṭīkā* by Siddhasena Gaṇi. This appears to be a different *ṭīkā* from that referred to in the *Notices,* which is ascribed to Shruta-sagara Sūri (not Vidyānanda, as stated in the *Notices*), a disciple of Vidyānanda Deva, a disciple of Devendra-Kīrtti Bhaṭṭāraka. A copy of the *bhāṣya* is named in Professor Jacobi's private collection, see *Journal of the German Oriental Society,* Vol. XXXIII, p. 695. In the latter, as well as in the *Notices,* the author's name is stated to be *Umāsvāmin.* The difference of name is thus explained by the Muni. "His mother's name was *Umā* and his father's, *Svāti;* his own name was made up by a combination of the two names, given him by his parents. This is stated by Umāsvāti himself in his Bhāṣya to his Tattvārtha Sūtra. The Digambaras, however, who also receive the same work, call him Umāsvāmin. He died (*hūā hai*) 300 years after Mahāvīra's death, and was a disciple of Balisaha, who was a disciple of Mahāgiri, who was a disciple of Sthūlabhadra. He is said to have composed 500 books, several of which are still extant among the Shvetāmbaras. His own disciple was Shyāmāchārya, the author of the Paṇṇāvaṇā, one of the Upāngas, who died (*hūā hai*) 353 years after Mahāvīra's death. Siddhasena Gaṇi, the author of the commentary (*ṭīkā*) to the Tattvārtha Sūtra, assisted Devarddhi Gaṇi in the redaction of the sacred canon (*Devarddhi Gaṇi Kṣamashramaṇa ke sāth shāstra likh'ne mẽ hāzir the*)." The Muni's remark about the Shvetāmbaras and Digambaras acknowledging the same work, Tattvārtha Sūtra, as authoritative (*yah shāstra donõ Svetāmbar-Digambar-mat-vāle mān'te haĩ*), is noticeable, and may have a bearing on the question of the age of the schism. The expression *hūā hai,* used with the dates, would rather indicate 'birth', but, as the dates usually given are those of the *nirvāṇa* or death, I have preferred taking it in that sense.

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(*ṭhāṇa*) of the *Sthānānga Sūtra* (Benares edition, leaves 332, 333).

ad § 155, note 245, p. 103.

The town of Ālabhiyā is mentioned, about A. D. 986, under the form *Alaweï* in certain information about the kingdoms of India, communicated to the Chinese by one Shihu, an Indian ecclesiastic, as quoted by Colonel Yule in his *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. I, p. lxxii, footnote. "Three days' journey west of Magadha was *Alawei* (Rewā ?), then Karana Kiuje (*i. e.*, *Kanyakujba* or Kanauj), Malwa, Ujjayani, Lolo (Lara according to Julien), Surashtra, and the Western Sea." Colonel Yule, it will be seen, suggests an identification with the modern town of Rewā.

In Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 269, we find the mention of a king of Alow and his city (Alow). From the story there related it appears that near the city of Alow there was a large forest, in which the king used to go hunting. There was also in the neighbourhood a banian-tree, inhabited by a 'yakkha', called Alawaka—a name probably connected with that of the city. The distance between Sāvatthī and the city of Alow is given as about 30 yojanas; for Buddha is said to have proceeded that distance from Jetavana, his vihāra in Sāvatthī, to the yakkha's dwelling in the banian-tree.

In Beal's translation of Fahian's travels (*Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. I, p. xliii) there is mention of a forest of A-lo. It is stated, that on his way from Kanauj to Sa-chi (*i. e.*, Sāketa or Ayodhyā) Fahian met that forest on the eastern side of the Ganges. He stayed and preached there; and there were also stūpas there. It is clear, therefore, that it cannot have been a mere forest, but that there was an inhabited place in or near it. The stūpas probably marked the spot of the conversion of the yakkha Alawaka,

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mentioned in Spence Hardy's book. From Kanauj it is said to have taken Fahian 3 yojanas or 21 miles to reach Alo, and thence 10 yojanas or 70 miles to reach the borders of the kingdom of Sa-chi or Sāketa.

From the above notices it appears that Alaweī or Alow or Alo was the name of a kingdom and of its capital town, as well as of a forest of great dimensions which evidently formed a remarkable feature of that country, and from which the city and kingdom would seem to have obtained their name; for that name clearly represents the Pāli *Alavī* or Sanskrit *Aṭavī* which means 'a forest,' and is named in Pāli books as a city existing in Buddha's time. Thus it occurs as the name of the forest Alavī in the commentary to the Uragasutta (Spiegel's *Anecdota Pālica*, p. 83), and as a name of the city Ālavī in the commentary to the Dhammapada (Fausböll's ed., p. 354). In the Abhidhānappadīpikā (W. Subhūti's ed., p. 30, No. 199) Ālavī is mentioned in a list of twenty names of cities, including Bārāṇāsī, Sāvatthī, Vesālī, Mithilā, Ālavī, Kosambhī, Ujjenī, Takkasīlā, Champā, Sāgala, Suṃsumāragira, Rājagaha, Kapilavatthu, Sāketa, Indapatta, Ukkaṭṭhā, Pāṭaliputṭaka, Jettuttara, Saṃkassa, and Kusinārā.

Regarding the position of this town of Ālavī or Ālawei or Ālo, it has been shown by General Sir A. Cunningham that it must be identical with the place called Navadevakula by Hiuen Tsiang, and the ancient remains of which still exist under the name of Newal, "just nineteen miles south-east of Kanauj," on the eastern side of the Ganges. See his *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. I, p. 293 and vol. XI, p. 49; also Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. I, pp. 223, 224. With this identification the distances given by Fahian and Hiuen Tsiang very fairly accord. According to the former, Alo is distant 10 yojanas from 'the great country of Sachi,' *i. e.*, from its frontiers (not from

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its capital town Sāketa). According to the latter, Nāvadevakula is distant from *'Oyuṭ'o* (*i. e.*, Ayodhyā or Sāketa) 'about 600 li,' *i. e.*, 15 or 16 yojanas (at 40 li for 1 yojana). Fahian, accordingly, had to travel 5 or 6 yojanas farther before he reached the capital of Sachi. Calculating the yojana at 7 or 8 miles, the total distance of 15 or 16 yojanas between Ālavī and Ayodhyā will amount to about 120 miles, which fairly represents the actual distance between the modern Newal and Ajudhyā.

My suggestion is that the town called Ālabhiyā by the Jains is identical with the Buddhist Ālavī, and therefore with the modern ruins of Newal. The position, thus assigned to Ālabhiyā, is just what one would expect from the notices of it in the Jain books. It must have lain somewhere within that comparatively narrow circle within which Mahāvīra made his missionary peregrinations, and which contained the towns of Sāvatthī, Mithilā, Vesālī, Champā and others. Ālabhiyā is but a longer form of Āḷabhī; and the latter, except for one cognate sound, is identical with Ālavī. I know of only one other instance of the substitution of *bh* for *v* in Prākrit, in *bhisiṇī* for *visinī* (Hem. I, 238). There are some more in Pāli, *e. g.*, *bhisa* for *visa*, *valabhāmukha* for *valabāmukha*, etc.

ad § 166, note 253, p. 111.

See also Appendix I, page 2, footnote. With regard to the discrepancy between the Bhagavatī Sūtra and the Kalpa Sūtra about Mahāvīra's stay in Paṇiyabhūmi, I ought to mention the solution suggested by Abhayadeva in his commentary (see Benares ed., pp. 1213*b* and 1214*a*). According to him the Prākrit word *Paṇiyabhūmīe* may either be taken as a place named thus on account of its being a "place for storing merchandise" (*paṇita-bhūmi=bhāṇḍa-vishrāma-sthāna*), in which case it must be construed as the ablative singular; or it

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may be taken as a descriptive name of a certain place, meaning 'the agreeable place' (*praṇīta* = *manojña*), in which case the word must be construed as the locative singular. Accordingly in the former case, the meaning of the passage would be, that "from (the time of his meeting with Gosāla at) Paṇiyabhūmi, Mahāvīra lived together with Gosāla for six years." In the other case the passage would mean, that "Mahāvīra lived together with Gosāla in an agreeable place for six years." With the latter interpretation, there can hardly be a doubt, Abhayadeva intended Mithilā, where according to the Kalpasūtra Mahāvīra spent six rainy seasons. In this case, the narrative of the Bhagavatī would, in effect, tell us that Mahāvīra met Gosāla at Mithilā, and spent six seasons with him there. Moreover the construction of the Prākrit *paṇiya-bhūmie* as a locative singular is the more natural one in the context. On the other hand, as the Kalpasūtra gives Paṇiya-bhūmi as the proper name of a particular place where Mahāvīra once stayed for one rainy season, it seems inadmissible to take the same word in the Bhagavatī, not as a proper name, but as a mere descriptive name of another place (Mithilā). To avoid this difficulty would seem to have been the reason of Abhayadeva's suggesting his second interpretation. In this case in the Bhagavatī, too, the word is to be taken as a proper name (identical with that in the Kalpasūtra), but it is to be construed as the ablative singular. If the latter construction can be justified, the difficulty would indeed be solved. To my mind, however, that construction is questionable; to take *paṇiyabhūmie* as an ablative singular, defining a limit of time by a mere determination of locality, appears to me unusual, if not unnatural. However, till some better solution is found, I suppose we must be contented with either of Abhayadeva's suggestions. I may add, that the place Paṇiyabhūmi is by some commentaries on the Kalpasūtra

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said to be *anārya-desha*, 'an unsuitable or not-respectable place.' And Muni Ātmārām-jī says, that it cannot be believed that the Bhagavatī Sūtra would represent Mahāvīra as staying for six seasons in an 'unsuitable' place. This argument, however, begs the question.

ad § 181, note 268, p. 118.

Regarding the phrase of the 'marrow of bones' I may note the occurrence of a very similar one in Rokhill's *Life of the Buddha*, p. 107. There it is related how Devadatta, in great fear of being cast into hell, exclaimed: 'To the very marrow of my bones I seek my refuge in the Buddha." I have translated the phrase, as explained in the Gujarātī paraphrase; though it may be questioned, whether its meaning does not perhaps rather correspond to our 'from the bottom of the heart,' and the whole should be translated: 'he was filled with a passionate love towards them from the very bottom of his heart.'

ad § 187, note 276, p. 125.

With regard to the 'eight great marvels,' it may be noticed that the two signs of the bowing of trees and the blowing of favourable winds, are also mentioned in the case of Buddha, when about to be born from his mother, queen Māyā, as related in Bigandet's *Life or Legend of Buddha*, vol. I, p. 35.

ad § 210, note 304, p. 139.

With regard to the Ugga, it may be worth noting that a "city of the Ugga" is mentioned in Bigandet's *Life or Legend of Buddha*, vol. 1, pp. 257—259. The Uggas are there described as 'upholders of false doctrines,' and the Ugga, to whom the story particularly refers, is said to have 'followed the teachings of the heretics.' These heretical teachers themselves are described as 'sitting quite naked,

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with dishevelled hair, in the midst of the most disgusting uncleanness, under a shed prepared for them.' Afterwards Buddha is said to have visited the city and converted a great number of the Ugga people in it. The description of the heretical teachers fits well enough the Nigganțha ascetics, if we remember that it is a Buddhist account of them. As is well known, Mahāvīra and the Jinakalpikas, or those who tried to imitate him as much as possible, went about naked; and the Nigganțha ascetics, in their own Āchārānga Sūtra, are thus described: "the mendicants, because they never bathe, are covered with uncleanliness; they smell after it, they smell badly, they are disagreeable, they are loathsome" (see Achār. II, 2, 2, § 1, in Jacobi's translation). The story shows that the Uggas belonged to the earliest adherents of Mahāvīra. There is nothing in the account which would enable one to identify the city of the Uggas; except the vague indication that a merchant of Sāvatthī married his daughter to an Ugga merchant of the Ugga city.

In Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 226—234, the same story appears to be related of the well-known lady Vaishākhī, the daughter of a merchant Dhananja, who originally lived in Champā, but afterwards settled in Sāketa. She was married to a son of "a merchant" of Sāvatthī, called Migāra; and this Migāra is described as a "sceptic" and an adherent of "the naked Tirttakas" (*i. e.*, Nigganțha ascetics).

Again the same story occurs in Rokhill's *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 70, 71. (See also von Schiefner's *Tibetan Tales*, translated by Ralston, No. VII, p. 110.) Here Vaishākhī's father-in-law is called Mṛigadhara, and is said to have been the "first minister" of king Prasenajit of Sāvatthī. Her father is called Balamitra, and is said to have been living at Champā.

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From these accounts it would seem that the Ugga of Bigandet is identical with the Migāra of Hardy and the Mṛigadhara of Rokhill and Schiefner. According to the latter two accounts the city of the 'Ugga' would be Sāvaṭṭhī itself; but according to Bigandet's account, which reverses the residences of the two merchants, it would be either Sāketa or Champā.

In the story, as given by Bigandet and Hardy, the Ugga-Migāra is only a very rich merchant. As given by Rokhill and Schiefner, the story, however, makes the Ugga-Mṛigadhara "the first minister of king Prasenajit." The latter statement would fairly agree with the Jain tradition, that the Uggas were "men of the guards' class," and "employed in the position of Koṭ'wāls." Under a native administration, the Koṭ'wāl of a town is the chief officer, commandant or prefect of the town. The truth would seem to be that the Uggas were a noble clan like the Lichhavīs and Mallas, who in private life followed the profession of a merchant, and from amongst whom the chief officers of the state were chosen. I would throw out the suggestion that the Ugga may be identical with the Tartar tribe of the Ung (*Ungkut*) or Uighur (Yuechi), a portion of which had settled in Tibet, and thence may have descended to settlements in India. See on these tribes Sir A. Cunningham's Archæolog. Survey Reports, vol. II, p. 62; Yule's Marco Polo, vol. I, pp. 183, 285. If this identification should prove correct, the Sanskrit form of the name *Ugra* would be a false sanskritisation, suggested by the adjective *ugra*, 'formidable.'

It may be also worth noting that in Rokhill's *Life of Buddha*, p. 132, there is mention of a place, called Bhoganagara, or 'city of the Bhogas,' which, from the context (see p. 133), would appear to have been situated "in the country of the Mallas." It cannot have been, therefore, very far from Vesālī and Pāwā.

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With regard to these Bhogas I should add, that according to Muni Ātmārām-jī's statement, they, no less than the Uggas, were a Kshattriya caste or clan (*jāti*). From the fact of their being described as *guru-vaṃsha-ja* or belonging to the guru race', one would not have thought so. The Muni's information about the two classes of people is as follows: "When Ṛiṣabha, the first king of India (*bhārata-varṣa*), established his rule, he appointed certain men to the office of *koṭ'wāl*, while he acknowledged others as persons deserving of honour (*pūjya kar'ke mānā*). The descendants of the former constitute the Ugra race (*ugra-kula*); those of the latter, the Bhoga race (*bhoga-kula*). Both are Kshattriya castes (*jāti*). In the present day they seem to be included among the Kshattriya castes, and probably may be found somewhere in India", though the Muni professes himself unable to identify them, or to say that they continue to be Jains.

Information on this subject may be found in the commentary (*ṭīkā*) to the Jambuddīva Paṇṇattī, as well as in those (*vṛitti*) to the Ovavāī and the Rāyapaseṇaïjja. The notices to be found in the commentary of the Ovavāī are quoted in my note 304. The *ādideva* is not Mahāvīra, as there erroneously stated by me, but Ṛiṣabha, the first Jina.

§ 219, pp. 146—148.

A very similar argument to that mentioned here is quoted in Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 276. It is put in the mouth of Upāli, an adherent of Mahāvīra, who makes use of it with reference to Buddha: "I will hold him," said he, "as a man who seizes a sheep by its long hair, and it kicks and struggles, but cannot get away; or as a toddy-drawer who takes the reticulated substance he uses to strain his liquor, knocking it on the ground that it may be free from dirt, etc."

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ad Appendix I, p. 7.

The story of the war between Kūṇiya and Cheḍaga is also referred to in the Bhagavatī (Benares ed), pp. 496ff. The expression 'fight with big stones as missiles' (*mahāsila-kaṇṭae sangāme*) is thus explained by the commentator Abhayadeva: "even a *kaṇṭaka* or 'thorn' is the same as a *mahāshilā* or 'a big stone', if it is a means of destroying life (*jīvita-bhedakatvāt*). Hence a war, in which wounds are inflicted on horses, elephants, etc. even by blades of grass, etc., is called a *mahāshilākaṇṭaka*." He further says, that in that war, Kūniya being unable to prevail over Cheḍaga, Shakra and Chamara appeared to his assistance. The former prepared an impenetrable armour of adamantine strength, and the latter, two wonderful instruments of war, one being a *mahāshilākaṇṭaka*, the other a *rathamusala*. The Prākrit text of the Bhagavatī describes these two wonderful engines of war as follows: (p. 500 *a*) *mahāsilākaṇṭae sangāme vaṭṭamāṇe je tattha āse vā hatthī vā johe vā sārahī vā taṇeṇa vā kattheṇa vā patteṇa vā sakkarāe vā abhihammaï, savve se jāṇai mahāsilāe ahaṃ abhihae; se teṇ'aṭṭheṇa mahāsilākaṇṭae sangāme*; i. e., 'when the battle with the *mahāsilākaṇṭaga* took place, then all the horses, elephants, warriors and charioteers who were struck by a bit of grass or a piece of wood or a leaf or a pebble, thought that they had been struck by the *mahāsilā*; for this reason the fight is called the *mahāsilākaṇṭaga* fight' Again, (p. 501*a*) *rahamusale sangāme vaṭṭamāne ege rahe aṇāsae asārahie aṇārohae samusale mahayā janakkhayaṃ jāṇavahaṃ jaṇappamaddaṃ jaṇasaṃvaṭṭakappaṃ ruhirakaddamaṃ karemāṇe savvao samantā paridhāvitthā; se teṇ'atthenaṃ rahamusale sangāme*; i. e., 'when the battle with the *rahamusala* took place, then a single chariot, without any horses yoked to it or charioteer or warrior mounted on it, effected such a bloody morass through the destruction, slaughter, carnage

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and massacre of men, that on every side everybody ran away; for this reason that fight is called the *rahamusala* fight'. The commentator explains the *rahamusala* to be a chariot to which a mace is attached and which, running about, effects a great execution of men. From these descriptions it appears to me more probable that the *mahāsilākaṇṭaga* must have been some engine of war (*kaṇṭaka*) of the nature of a catapult which threw big stones (*mahāsilā*). It created such a panic among the enemy that they all fled, even though they were merely struck by the grass, wood, leaf or pebble, scattered by the impact of those big missiles. The term should, therefore, probably be translated: 'a fight with a war-engine throwing big stones.' Again the *rahamusala* would seem to have been a sort of 'scythed chariot,' such as the ancient Persians used to employ in war, but apparently furnished with clubs instead of scythes. It would also seem to have been provided with some kind of self-acting machinery to propel it, as it is described to have moved without horses and driver; though, possibly, as in similar contrivances in the middle ages, it was moved by a person concealed inside who turned the wheels.

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uvāsaga, a spiritual servant, a Jain layman, n. 1, 7, 21, 28; duties of, § 58; standards of, § 70, 71, 89, 114, 123, 124, 143, 178, 250, 266, 274, 277, n. 123, 127, App. III, p. 36, 40—43.
UVĀSAGADASĀO, the seventh Anga, p. vii, x, xii, xiii, § 2, 91, 276, 277, App. III, p. 37.
uvasagga, persecutions or spiritual temptations, n. 222, App. III, p. 47, 49.

VACHCHHA, a people, App. I, p. 7.
VAḌIṂSA, see Aruṇavaḍiṃsa.
vāg-guṇa, good qualities of speech, n. 276.
vahe, bruising, killing, n. 53.
vahiya, worshipped, n. 278.
vajja-risaha-narāya-sangha-yaṇe, App. III, p. 45.
VALLABHĪ, council of, p. ix.
vallī, the olibanum tree, n. 42.
vaṇakhaṇḍa, or cheïya. n. 4.
VĀṆIYAGĀMA, § 3, 7, 10, 58, 66, 69, 77, 78, 79, 277, n. 8, 9.
vaṇṇāvāse, detailed description n. 167.
various readings, see readings.
vāsa, the seven regions of Jambuddīva, n. 135.
Vāsadhara, mountain, § 74, 253, n. 135.
vaṭṭaya, grey quail, n. 312.
vatthū, a kind of spinach, § 38, n. 41.
vayaṇa-vivara, mouth, n. 184.
vaya-paḍimā, the standard of the vows, n. 127, App. III, p. 40.
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VEHALLA, son of king Seṇiya, App. I, p. 7, (footnote).
verses, popular, erotic, n. 325.
VESĀLĪ, a town, n. 8, 9, App. I, p. 7, App. III, p. 52, 57.
VESĀLIE, (Mahāvīra), n. 8.
VESIYĀYAṆA, an ascetic, App. I, p. 3.
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VIBHELA, a settlement, App. I, p. 13.
victuals, § 33.
VIDEHA country, n. 9; great, § 90, 125, 144, 154, 162, 230, 266, 271, 274, 277, App. I, p. 14.
VIDHI PRAKARAṆA, name of a work, App. III, p. 40.
vigils, religious, § 66, 73, 252.
VIJAYA, a householder, App. I, p. 1.
VIJJUKUMĀRA, a kind of devas, App. I, p. 13.
viluppamāṇa, mutilated or castrated, n. 308.
VIMALA, an Arhat, App. I, p. 12.

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VIMALA-VĀHAṆA, (Gosāla), App. I, p. 11, 12.
vimāṇa, heavenly abode, n. 109.
VINJHĀ mountains, App. I, p. 11, 13.
VIPĀKA SŪTRA, the eleventh Anga, n. 4.
VIPULA mountain, n. 251.
virati-vrata, negative vow, n. 65.
viruddha-rajj'āikkame, smuggling, n. 58.
visit of Mahāvīra, § 9, 235, 258, 269, 274.
VIVĀHA-PAṆṆATTĪ, the fifth Anga, n. 148.
votive seals, § 164, 166, 170, 173, n. 252.
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WAR, wonderful instruments of, App. III, p. 59.
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water-bodies, n. 67.
water for drinking, § 41, 277.
water for washing, § 27, 277.
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weights, false, § 47.
wind-dropsy, § 255, 257, n. 328.
wiping of ground, etc., § 55, 77, n. 88, 89; see also examination.
women, dealings with, § 16, 48, 51, n. 60—62, 76, 138, 325.
works, eight-fold, § 218, n. 274, 309.
world of devas, § 90, n. 93, 279; this and the next, n. 93.
worlds or heavens, classes of, App. I, p. 14.
worthless vegetables, forbidden, § 51, n. 69.

YOGA SHASTRA, n. 10, App. III, p. 37
yojana, § 74, 83, 253, n. 140, App. II, p. 27, App. III, p. 53.

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ERRATA.

Page	12,	line	31,	for note 68	read	note 67.
,,	25,	,,	14,	,, note 78	,,	note 77.
,,	26,	,,	13, 14,	omit the words ‘before § 22 and’		
,,	48,	,,	7,	for note 138	read	note 140.
,,	52,	,,	20,	,, p. 31	,,	p. 36.
,,	56,	,,	4, 5,	,, within his own house	,,	in the midst of householders.
,,	60,	,,	22,	,, § 86	,,	§ 66.
,,	69,	,,	23,	,, front part	,,	back part.
,,	72,	,,	9,	remove 191 down to ‘furious’.		
,,	77,	,,	3,	for § 92	read	§ 96.
,,	92	,,	28,	,, Calc. print	,,	Benares print (and so in other places).
,,	98,	,,	29,	,, the eleventh standard	,,	eleven standards.
,,	102,	,,	27,	,, note 263	,,	note 262.
,,	157,	,,	7,	,, § 239	,,	§ 240.
,,	158,		9,	,, § 63	,,	§ 66.

Misspellings.

Page	11,	line	16,	for *panch'ānuvvaïyaṃ*	read	*pañch'āṇuvvaïyaṃ*
,,	14,	,,	19,	,, Pishel	,,	Pischel.
,,	20,	,,	16,	,, *plālanka*	,,	*pālanka.*
,,	23,	,,	13,	,, Avashyaka	,,	Āvashyaka.
,,	41,	,,	7,	,, liveless	,,	lifeless.
,,	41,	,,	24,	,, *bhāvemāna*	,,	*bhāvemāṇa.*
,,	44,	,,	26,	,, *puchchatam*	,,	*puchchhataṃ.*
,,	48,	,,	32,	,, *nāṉa*	,,	*ṇāṇa.*
,,	54,	,,	1,	,, Vāṇīyagāma	,,	Vāṇiyagāma.
,,	57,	,,	26,	,, *thārassa*	,,	*ṭhaṇassa.*
,,	58,	,,	10,	,, *thikāṇe*	,,	*ṭhikāṇe.*
,,	58,	,,	17, 21,	,, *padikk°*	,,	*paḍikk°.*
,,	61,	,,	26,	,, *aṇāgara*	,,	*aṇagāra.*

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Page 61,	,, 31,	for Arishṭanemi	read	Ariṣṭanemi.
,, 62,	,, 9,	,, *kālā-māse*	,,	*kāla-māse.*
,, 81,	,, 19,	,, *sāmāniya*	,,	*sāmāṇiya.*
,, 82,	,, 4,	,, dubbha	,,	dabbha.
,, 84,	,, 16,	,, animials	,,	animals.
,, 87,	line 18,	,, *paḍigāṃ*	,,	*paḍigaṃ.*
,, 92,	,, 25,	,, *gataiṃ*	,,	*gātāiṃ.*
,, 109,	,, 7,	,, principa	,,	principal.
,, 109,	,, 21,	,, Nālenda	,,	Nālendā.
,, 112,	,, 27,	,, *aniṣṭaṃ*	,,	*aniṣṭaṃ.*
,, 115,	,, 35,	,, *gihamajjhāvasanta*	,,	*gihamajjhāvasantā*
,, 120,	,, 22,	,, *ma*	,,	*mā.*
,, 132,	,, 31,	,, Ajīviya	,,	Ājīviya.
,, 136,	,, 28,	,, 293	,,	299
,, 141,	,, 9,	,, Ajīviyas	,,	Ājīviyas.
,, 154,	,, 28, 32,	,, land owner	,,	land-owner.

Appendices.

,, 4	,, 5	,, Ajīviyas	,,	Ājīviyas.
,, 23	,, 31	,, Aśoka's	,,	Ashoka's.

Additions.

Page 39,	line 13,	add 55	after	50.
,, 66,	,, 12,	,, bracket	,,	masc.
,, 68,	,, 31,	,, comma	,,	*netta.*
,, 86,	,, 1,	,, comma	,,	Surely.
,, 89,	,, 10,	,, comma	,,	*gachchha.*
,, 93,	,, 31,	,, commas	,,	*tachchaṃ pi* and repetition.
,, 111,	,, 9, 35,	,, commas	,,	vīra and *kāra.*
,, 116,	,, 2,	,, comma	,,	much more.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

Ay. = Āyāranga Sutta or Āchāranga Sūtra (ed. Hermann Jacobi), with its Translation (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII).

Baden Powell = Handbook of the Economic Products of the Panjāb, Vol. I, Economic Raw Produce (*Roorkee* 1868).

Bhag. = Fragment der Bhagavatī (ed. A. Weber, Berlin, 1866).

Calc. print = Calcutta print, *i. e.*, the editions of the Jain Agamas published by Rāy Dhanpat Singh Bahādur.

Colebrooke = Miscellaneous Essays in two volumes (ed. E. B. Cowell).

Comm. = Commentary.

Grierson = Bihār Peasant Life (*Calcutta*, 1885).

Hemachandra or HEM. = Prākrit Grammar (ed. R. Pischel).

Ind. Ant. = Indian Antiquary.

Ind. St. = Indische Studien (ed. A. Weber).

Kap. = Kappa Sutta or Kalpa Sūtra (ed. Hermann Jacobi, in the collection of the German Oriental Society, Vol. VII, No. 1).

Nāy. = Nayādhammakahā (specimen of, ed. as an Inaugural-Dissertation by P. Steinthal, Leipzig, 1881).

Nir. = Nirayāvaliyā Sutta (ed. Dr. S. Warren, Amsterdam, 1879).

Ov. = Ovavāiya Sutta or Aupapātika Sūtra (ed. Ernst Leumann, in the Collection of the German Oriental Society, Vol. VIII, No. 2).

Paraph. = Paraphrase.

Stevenson. = The Kalpa Sūtra and Nava Tattva.

Transl. = Translation.

Watt. = Economic Products of India in the Calcutta International Exhibition, 1883-84, by George Watt. (*Calcutta* 1883).

Wilson. = Essays and Lectures on the Religion of the Hindus (ed. R. Rost).

Yog. = Hemchandra's Yogashāstra (ed. E. Windisch, in Journal, German Oriental Society, Vol. XXVIII.)

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